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108 THE LOLO DISTRICT IN LIANG-SHAN

(LIANG-SHAN I-CH'Ü KAI-HUANG)

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/91/ THE ORIGIN AND THE TRIBAL NAME OF THE LOLO

./92/ There are many Lolo widely distributed in the southwestern corner of our country throughout the eastern section of Yünnan province and the Ning districts /consisting of eight hsien, including the city Hsi-ch'ang, on the border between southeastern Sikang and southwestern Szechwan/. Formerly the Chinese called these frontier people "Lolo" 猓玀, also 猓猓 or 羅羅. After the War of Resistance /The Sino-Japanese War/, the Central Government /of China/ issued a special proclamation forbidding the use of this name, because the dog radical forming the two characters designated contempt and did not conform with the Government's principle of equality for all the peoples within the country. All tribal names which formerly contained the radical meaning dog were henceforth changed to names that contain the radical meaning man. The tribal name of the Lolo was thus changed to 倮儸 or 倮倮, /written with the radical meaning man/, and the terms "Lo-i" 倮夷 and "Lo-tzu" 倮族 gradually came into use. In addition, in Szechwan and Yünnan provinces, members of this tribe are often commonly referred to as the "I" 夷, and especially around the border area of Szechwan, they are often called "Man-tzu" 蠻子. The Lolo resent very much to be called Man-tzu and Lolo. Even the change in radical in the latter word is no remedy, for it still has the same pronunciation with its derogatory connotations for the Lolo, who do not read Chinese. Of the two names they especially dislike Man-tzu. If a Sheng-I /wild or independent Lolo/ who understands the Chinese language is called by this name, there is often danger of physical violence. It is said that among the I of certain regions, Man-tzŭ is understood to designate the robbers among them, and this may account for their resentment. On the other hand, they are not hostile to the term I, which originally must also have had some element of contempt, and contend that they ought to be so called. They would be even happier to be addressed as "I-chia "(pronounced "I-chiao "at the Szechwan border), that is, with the addition of the word "chia " to designate esteem. Their respectful form of address for the Chinese is "Han-chia, " or "Han-chia Sepo " which is even more polite since Sepo means "nobility" (Heh-I class) in the I language. The Heh-I who are familiar with the Chinese language like very much to be addressed as "ta Heh-I. "

In recognition of the principle of equality, the Central Government proclaimed that henceforth all frontier tribes were to be called "border people. " Politically, there is no reason at all why this change

101 is not good. Scientifically, however, the change does not seem quite satisfactory, and practically, it is also very inconvenient. There are many kinds of frontier tribes living in the various southwestern provinces, and if all were uniformly designated as border people, there would be no means of differentiating them and confusion would ensue. Particularly specialists who are doing scholarly research in ethnology, linguistics, and related fields find this solution quite contrary to scientific principle. Furthermore, these frontier tribes, not being familiar with the Chinese language, are quite puzzled by the words "border people"/93/ and may even misinterpret them as some form of insult, in which case the intended remedy would defeat its own purpose. Upon investigation we find that the Lolo call themselves Nosu and give the name No to the Heh-I. In order to arrive at an appropriate name, why can't we transliterate these words into Chinese, which would not only simplify the matter but would also eliminate all possibility of misunderstanding or suspicion of intentional insult?

144 The Lolo belong to the Tibetan-Burmese group of people. The relationship is traceable in spite of the difference in racial types. The Lolo are in a medial position, being smaller than the Tibetans and
193 taller than the Burmese. All the words in the Lolo language are made up of several syllables with the stress falling on the last. Their sentences have inverted word order (the verb is placed after the noun; e.g., they
197 say "dinner to have" for "to have dinner"). Their language thus resembles the Tibetan and the Japanese and differs from the Chinese, indicating that the Lolo and Tiberan tribes might have sprung from the
173 same stock. Evidence of the Lolo's relationship to the Burmese may be found in one of the prevalent legends. Both the Burmese and the Lolo claim, with pride, to be the descendants of Meng Huo. The purpose of "The Eight Captures of K'ung-ming"--one of the good plays in the Burmese theater--is to counteract the plot found in the Manchus' "The Seven Captures of Meng Huo." /At the time of the Three Kingdoms (third century A. D.), Chu-ko Liang, or Chu-ko K'ung-ming, scholar-general of the Shu Han Kingdom, sent a Chinese army to the southwest to fight Meng Huo, chief of the native tribes there. According to the Chinese story, Meng Huo was captured seven times before he finally surrendered./ For similar reasons all the I claim to be legitimate descendants of Meng Huo and consider their lineage a great honor. Meng Huo was indeed a native of the southwestern border region and might very well have been an ancestor of these tribes. But the Lolo and the Burmese tribes originated long before the period of

the Three Kingdoms, and the majority of them obviously could not have been the descendants of Meng Huo. Perhaps this claim is merely an expression of hero worship--in the same way as the Chinese consider themselves descendants of Huang Ti /The Yellow Emperor/--with no further implications. 173

There is another myth among the Lolo concerning the origin of their tribes. It is said that Heaven had three sons: the eldest was an I, the second a Fan (Tibetan), and the youngest a Han. Heaven, favoring the youngest son, gave him the plains; he gave the hilly regions to the second son; and the high mountains and barren lands he left for the eldest (the I).

Of the native tribes in the southwestern part of our country, the Lolo are among the most numerous. They are distributed in the provinces of Szechwan, Sikang and Yünnan. The largest number is found in Yünnan province, next in Sikang province and the Ning districts. The question as to whether these tribes had always lived in these regions or whether they had migrated from elsewhere has yet to be examined. Chinese and Western specialists /94/ have expressed various opinions and have not yet been able to arrive at an agreement. The majority of them, however, think that the I tribes migrated from other places. Both the Chu-shu chi-nien /The Bamboo Annals/ and the T'ung-chien kang-mu /An outline of the Comprehensive Mirror, which is an abridged Chinese history/ maintain that Chih Yu, after his defeat in the north, retreated to the south, then further to the southwest, and lived in seclusion in the mountains. From him sprang the Miao and Lolo tribes of the southwestern border area. In his study "Lu-nan hsiang-tu li-shih ta-kang" /A Summary of the Local History of Lu-nan/ (in Lu-nan-hsien hsiang-t'u k'ao chi-yao)/A Critical Summary of the Local History of Lunan Hsien/ edited by Yang I-po and published by the Middle School of Yünnan University, the seventh month of the twenty eighth year of the Chinese Republic; mimeographed and not for sale) Mr. Li T'ing maintains that the Tibetan-Burmese group of Yünnan province (an intermediate tribal group, one branch of which is known as the I) probably migrated from the northwest. Many Western researchers assert that the Lolo came from the west (e.g., the boundary region between Tibet and Burma). Others think that they migrated westward from Kweichow province. On the other hand, there is also the so-called "indigenous theory" which says that the Lolo are natives of the southwest. This theory is quite possible, for they need not all have migrated. In this case the present-day Lolo of Liang-shan are no doubt the descendants 131 173 166 175

175 of the southwestern I, with whom Ssue-ma Hsiang-ju /Chinese writer of the second century B.C./ communicated in the Han period. It is probable that the Miao tribes of Hunan and Kweichow provinces originally lived in fertile plains and valleys but were later forced by the Chinese to retreat into the mountains. The Lolo of Liang-shan, however, have always occupied the entire Liang-shan region. They preferred to live on high mountains even though their cultivated fields are centered around mountain streams.

181 512 The Lolo are a peaceful and contented agricultural people. They are singularly frugal and grave in temperament; they neither laugh nor talk easily. This is especially true of the I of Liang-shan. They work in the rice fields throughout the day, return home at night-fall, and go to sleep immediately after the evening meal. There is hardly any singing or dancing. They form a strong contrast to the nomadic, unrestrained, and pleasure-loving Tibetans.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan have been very much sinified so that their original customs and habits have almost entirely disappeared. Only those living in the northern border close to Huei-li /a hsien in Sikang/ and in a section further south, as well as those in the district of Lu-nan hsien, keep some of their former manners. Most of their original traits, however, are still retained among the I people in the Ning districts, in Lei /Lei-po/, Ma /Ma-pien/, O /O-pien/, P'ing P'ing-shan/ of Szechwan province, and especially in the Liang-shan 565 gion. The Lolo of these regions are divided into two distinct social classes: the "Heh-I" and the "Wa-tzu." But this distinction is not found among all the Lolo tribes in Yünnan, and it is hard to say whether it once prevailed in all other places. Since most primitive societies still retain this type of social system, we assume--but do not venture to assert categorically--that it was originally practiced in all Lolo societies but was later abandoned by some groups that came under Chinese influence. It is also possible that this system had always existed in some regions and not at all in others.

For a thorough study of the Lolo problem, "Heh-I" and "Wa-tzu" are two technical terms which must be understood. The former designates the nobility among the Lolo (called Sepo in the Lolo language). The word "Heh" /black/ has no special significance. (The complexion of the Heh-I is in fact somewhat darker than that of the Chinese, but the so-called "Wa-tzu" or "Pê-I" /Pê means white/ are not really fairer than the Heh-I.) "Wa-tzu" (meaning children)--probably a word borrowed from the Chinese--is used to designate the slaves, who are

also referred to as "Pê-I" by the Chinese. "Heh ku-t'o" /black bones/ and "Pê ku-t'o" /white bones/ are terms which are bestowed upon the Lolo by the Chinese and are never used among the I themselves. A misunderstanding is prevalent among some Chinese groups who think that the Pê-I or Wa-tzu are all Chinese captives or descendants of these captives. Still others make a further distinction, claiming that a newly captured Chinese is called Wa-tzu but is then raised to the status of Pê-I after his marriage with a female Chinese captive in the I region. It is actually quite unnecessary to make all these distinctions, for in appearance the Heh-I are tall and handsome with chests much broader than those of the Chinese, while the Wa-tzu are also strong and healthy but much smaller, indicating that besides the Chinese captives or their descendants, the majority of the Wa-tzu class includes perhaps another tribe which was conquered by the Heh-I in ancient times. The relationship between the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is somewhat similar to that between landlord and serf in tsarist times when hereditary class status could not be changed, and slaves could be bought and sold as chattels by the nobility. The Wa-tzu class /96/ resembles particularly the class of "mean people" or "untouchables" in India today. They differ from the nobility in racial characteristics as well as in social status.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE LOLO OF THE LIANG-SHAN REGION

In many of the southwestern areas where the Lolo tribes have lived with the Chinese, they have lost their original traits and have become sinified in respect to customs and habits. This assimilation--found in most of Yünnan province, which has the greatest concentration of the Lolo--is not at all strange since the culture of the Chinese has always been much higher. For a study of the customs and civilization of the Lolo, it is best to go to the Ning districts and Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. Of these, Liang-shan, which has always been closed to outside influences, is the ideal region for research. Of course with the passing of thousands of years the Lolo here have also been somewhat influenced by the Chinese, but this influence is slight compared with that in other places. From the ethnographic point of view, one may say that there is not a single pure race in China. Even the Miao and Yao tribes living in the secluded mountain areas of various southwestern provinces are considerably mixed. The only relatively pure race is to be found in

177 Liang-shan. For this reason it is necessary for us to make a field study there. Such a study would be of particular interest to ethnographers, linguists and sociologists.

186 In Liang-shan one often finds mixtures of the original Wa-tzu (one type of I) and Chinese captives who have been forced to become Wa-tzu and thereafter have no way of escape. The distinct separation of the Wa-tzu and the Heh-I, who try very hard to maintain their purity, is handed down throughout the ages and cannot be overcome. [582] [834] There is no intermarriage between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu. Should a Heh-I man rape a woman of the Wa-tzu class, it is considered an intolerable disgrace to the race. It is an even greater crime for a woman of the Heh-I class to have sexual intercourse with a male Wa-tzu, and the punishment for both guilty parties would be death. Such practices remind one of Germany under Hitler's rule. The reasons for the Heh-I's attempt to preserve /97/ racial purity and their practices in this respect are exactly the same as those of the Nazis. The boastful Heh-I likewise consider themselves the most accomplished race as well as the warrior class, and look upon the Chinese and other racial groups with con-
565 tempt. In Liang-shan society the relationship of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is based on co-operation and the division of labor into three /sic/ categories: the upper class Heh-I do not concern themselves with production but engage only in warfare and governing, thus forming a sort of warrior or ruling class; the Wa-tzu are the producers or agricultural labor class. This is almost exactly the same as Nazi Germany's national philosophy (stressing "Deutschland über alles" and intent on reducing the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, etc., to the status of laborers controlled by the Germans). It is possible to see from this that the prevalent Nazi theories are about to lead the world back to the Lolo stage.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan province and those in the Ning
131 districts of Yueh-sui, Mien-ning, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, etc. have
[181] been very much sinified, and are known as "Shou-I." /sinified Lolo/. The fiercest and most overbearing of the I are concentrated in the Liang-shan region, in which Chao-chüeh and Lei-po have the most ruthless and complex branches, and Ma-pien and Ô-pien, by comparison, the gentlest and simplest. All the I areas in Lei-po hsien are part of the Hsiao Liang-shan region and are inhabited mostly by the Wa-tzu attached to the Heh-I of Ta Liang-shan. These Wa-tzu, although disposed to plunder, are not so fierce and haughty as their masters. The main region occupied by the so-called Sheng-I or Yen-I (those who have been very little sinified as compared with the Shou-I)

is in Chao-chüeh hsien west of Huang-mao-heng, and east of the Mei-ku River. 177 131

In the past, because of the isolation of the various tribes along the Chinese frontier, the Government did not exercise real and complete control over them. These tribes were able to establish their own 624 rules and select their own leaders. After having conquered them, however, the Chinese have tried to win over these frontier people by appointing their leaders to the official posts of t'u-ssu /tribal chief/, t'u-ch'ien-hu /tribal head of 1,000 families/, etc., and to gain their ends through this indirect control. This is also the situation found in some of the Lolo regions, as well as in the Lolo district of Yuen-sui hsien, where likewise those who have been given the title of t'u-ssu do not have the actual functions of the office. But it is not true of Liang- 621 shan where organization is very lax and the people are divided into several independent branches called chia /families/. According to a study made by Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, the most important branch in Lei-po hsien is the En-cha chia, also called the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--the combined name for Kan chia and P'u-t'ien chia--which is further divided into 11 branches: K'ung-p'u, Tou-o, Shih-kang, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-mien, A-chih, /98/ Wu-p'ao (also named Wu-p'o), Nuan-o, etc., thus constituting altogether 12 branches in the Kan P'u-t'ien chia. There are two more chia, the A-cho and A-lo (also named A-lu), which are very ruthless. These branches have always been the chief troublemakers in Lei-po hsien, where the I troubles were consequently the worst of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. A-hou, Su-ko, and A-lo constitute the three chief branches in Chao-chüeh and have such substantial power that they once threatened to seize the entire hsien. The I of Ma-pien have always been divided into three groups: the center and left groups, consisting entirely of the members of the Wu-p'o chia, very seldom revolt; the right group alone, with branches called Hou-p'u and Shui-p'u--both belonging to the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--causes more damage. The Lolo of O-pien are said to consist of 13 branches, but they belong in reality to the same clan as the Kan chia. Formerly a member of the Kan chia named "Chao-tzu" had four sons, from whom sprang the 13 branches that live along the border of Ô-pien hsien. They are generally docile and not prosperous, and cause very little damage. I troubles in O-pien have therefore never been as violent as those in Lei-po and Chao-chüeh.

All the chia mentioned above are Heh-I branches, and the names are transliterations of I words. The Wa-tzu belong to their

621 masters and do not form branches of their own. The chia names of the Heh-I correspond probably to the family names of the Chinese; e.g., En-cha chia, Wu-p'o chia, Mo-shih chia, etc., correspond
551 to our Wang (Wang chia), Chang, Li, etc. The Heh-I use their chia names as their family names, and have given names in addition; e.g., the full name of the present head of Mo-shih chia is Mo-shih T'ieh-ha. The Wa-tzu also have family names but do not constitute additional branches; e.g., a Wa-tzu of Wu-p'o chia is called Mu-chia Wu-ch'i, Mu-chia being his family name and Wu-ch'i his given name, but in addressing others he always refers to himself as "Wu-p'o chia's Wa-tzu, Mu-chia Wu-ch'i," in order to show the Heh-I branch to which he belongs.

131 From personal experience and from friends' accounts, it is known that the various Heh-I branches in the section of Liang-shan (from Chao-chüeh to Lei-po) visited by the author himself are distributed more or less in the following manner: The chief branches in the vicinity of Chao-chüeh hsien are the Pa-chu chia--fierce, and frequently attacking the hsien city--and the comparatively more friendly Wa-cha chia. Toward the east, in the vicintiy of Chu-heh-suo, is the Ma chia, a large clan inhabiting the bulk of the region between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chüeh. Further east, the Wu-p'o chia (also known as the Wu-p'ao)--less populous, friendly and weak--is the principal group inhabiting the region on the route northward to O-pien. Still further east, past the Mei-ku River, is the territory of the A-lu chia, who are a typical Sheng-I people, /99/ ruthless, treacherous, and difficult to deal with. Past the Mei-ku River, around the section of Yeh-lu-na-ta, is the territory of the Mo-shih chia, a small clan in Liang-shan. In spite of its situation in the midst of the Sheng-I, it has always been friendly with others and has only a few enemies. (En-cha chia is its only enemy.) It is therefore safer not only for the Chinese (including the academic groups and the ordinary merchants) to engage this chia as protector, but also for the I when they go out shopping and have to pass through enemy territory. Mo-shih chia is the most popular in the I region, and seems better disposed toward the Chinese. The territory from the east of Mo-shih chia to Huang-mao-keng is under the dominance of the A-hou chia, which is the most populous as well as the fiercest clan in Liang-shan, indulging continuously in murder and plunder. With the exception of some temporary sheepfolds in the area, there is generally no habitation at the summit of Huang-mao-keng. There are, however, scattered

branches of the Heh-I surrounding this mountain range: on the west the A-lu chia, on the north the A-hou chia, on the south the Sha-ma chia, and on the east the Wu-ch'i chia. With the exception of the A-hou chia, the Wu-ch'i (also called Mu-ch'i, Wu-ch'i, or A-cho) and En-ssu are the most numerous and the most ruthless groups; they are the chief occupants of the territory east of Huang-mao-keng in the section of Hsiao Liang-shan close to the mountain summit. This district is also inhabited by the friendly P'u-ch'i chia (also called P'u-chi). Descending the mountain and approaching Lei-po, one finds the quiet and peaceful Heh-I of Hu chia. The foregoing statements are all based on the author's personal knowledge. 131

One might compare the Lolo of Liang-shan to scattered sand. The Heh-I are separated into branches of different sizes and strength and are not interdependent. Needless to say, the weaker branches must at times submit to the stronger, but in theory at least, they are entirely equal; no branch is required to obey another, and there is no such thing as central organization or ruler-and-subject relationship. The relation between the separate branches of a chia, compared to the relation between different chia, is much closer. An elderly and capable Heh-I may often become a natural leader, tacitly accepted by everyone, and may govern and lead his chia without a formal grant of power. Mo-shih T'ieh-ha, who lives in Yeh-lu-na-ta, is an example of this type of leader. He may represent his chia, participate in the conferences called by the Chineses officials or in the joint conferences of the various branches of Heh-I. 621

Every chia in the I region of Liang-shan occupies a definite area and forms a sort of independent little state. The I of the same branch are closely tied, exchange mutual aid and care, and fight together when oppressed by another branch. The Heh-I of different branches, if related by marriage, /100/ exchange similar aid. Otherwise the habitual practice of the two I branches which are in no way connected is non-interference or incessant warfare--if they are enemies. The Lolo of the Liang-shan region can be persuaded to join forces only for opposition to the Chinese; on such an occasion they temporarily forget their enmity, discard former grievances, and unite against a common enemy. Thus they seem to display the spirit of "brothers who end their own strifes so as to resist outside aggression." Co-operative measures are then decided upon jointly through consultation of their leaders. Thus it may be said that a kind of primitive,

621 democratic government exists in the I region of Liang-shan. The ability to unite, which may account partly for the difficulty of conquering them, is something which the Chinese should imitate. As the Lolo become more sinified, however, these virtues are gradually lost. In the region close to the Chinese there have recently been groups of warring Lolo who are anxious to submit to the Chinese in order to be able to defeat their Lolo enemies /with Chinese assistance/. Chinese officials often take advantage of these conditions to subjugate the I. This corrupt racial characteristic should not be further encouraged even for the sake of "accomplishing a greater good." These manifestations are nevertheless still rare in the I region of Liang-shan for its people have not yet been tainted with the many bad habits of the Chinese.

A SKETCH OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE LOLO

241 High altitude and cold weather account for Liang-shan's inadequate agricultural production. Furthermore the Lolo have a low civilization and do not know how to develop their agriculture fully.
511 For this reason they still lead a primitive and hard life similar to that in the medieval ages, or, even to that of remote antiquity, while people in the not too distant city of Hsi-ch'ang enjoy 1941 standards of living. The difference between the living standards of the frontier Chinese and the Lolo is greater than the difference between those of the Chinese and the more prosperous peoples of Europe and America. There has always been a saying prevalent at the Szechwan frontier: "Break open Wan-shih-p'ing, and no poor man will be left in the world." Probably this slogan meant originally to encourage the Chinese to penetrate into the Lolo region, but it soon led to the erroneous belief that Liang-shan was of extraordinary richness, that in the very center of Wan-shih-p'ing there were mountains of gold, silver and riches, and that if one did not mind the fierceness of the Lolo /101/ and penetrated into their region, the wealth gained there could be used to assist the poor and thus sweep poverty away from the world. According to another saying, in Wan-shih-p'ing there were extremely large, highly productive rice fields, which could provide food for a large number of people. These sayings actually have no basis and do not correspond at all to reality.

Wan-shih-p'ing is situated on the road from the Mo-shih chia to O-pien. Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, in the twenty-third year of the Chinese Republic /1934/, passed it on his way to O-pien and discovered that the "famous" Wan-shih-p'ing was but a large stretch of wild forest; not only were there no riches and fertile rice fields, but there were not even people and dwellings. All these rumors are a myth. 133

The high altitude and cold weather of Liang-shan restrict sowing to a limited quantity of red rice in a few areas--along the banks of the Mei-ku and Hsi-ch'i rivers, and at Chu-heh-pa-tzu. The I are not as fond of rice as the Chinese and therefore it does not occupy an important place among the cereals consumed by them. Even in rice producing districts, it is often stored up to be sold to the Chinese, or served as a treat for the "Han-chia Sepo." The Lolo's principal food consists of three kinds of cereals: buckwheat, oats and corn, and of potatoes. Corn grows in regions where the sea-level is comparatively not high (mostly less than 1,700 meters above sea-level), and oats on high mountains (generally more than 2,500 meters above sea-level). Buckwheat alone can be grown almost anywhere in the Liang-shan region, except on the fringes of the lowlands, and is therefore more important than either corn or oats. Buckwheat and corn are prepared as food by being ground into flour from which pa-pa /buns/ are made. There is sweet and bitter buckwheat, of which the former is more expensive; buns made from the latter have a slightly bitter taste. In areas where oats are grown, buckwheat is the food of the common folk while oats are that of the nobility. Oats are eaten differently from buckwheat or corn, but in the same manner as barley is among the Tibetans. The method is first to fry the oats in a pan, and then to grind them into a flour called "ch'ao-mien" /fried flour/, a product similar to the tsamba /parched barley flour/ used by the Tibetans. It is then mixed with water and served as food in the same way as tsamba, except that the mixture is made with unboiled water instead of tea. Potatoes, which were introduced into Liang-shan only about twenty years ago, are already one of the important food products today. When we traveled through Liang-shan in the summer, we found that eating buckwheat buns and potatoes all day long made life quite monotonous and difficult. (Buns made from sweet buckwheat are slighty sweet and somewhat better than those made from bitter buckwheat, but the former grows only in the lower regions, and the latter

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262 is therefore more extensively cultivated.) /102/ Nevertheless, summer is the golden season in the I region. The I have no knowledge
[251] of storage methods. In the autumn after they have consumed their summer provisions, they grind beans into a thick fluid called "lien-cha-nao," which they drink together with the solid residue. In the winter they have no alternative but to eat turnips as a means of survival. Spring is the most distressing season of the year so far as the food situation is concerned; their hunger can be relieved only with buns made from bitter artemisia plants.

264 The Lolo of Liang-shan toil throughout the year and eat only
512 two meals a day, i.e., in the morning and evening. They head for the fields after an early breakfast and take nothing else throughout the endlessly long day. (Occasionally, some buckwheat buns are brought to them for lunch, but this may be considered as an exception.) After sunset they return home for the evening meal and then go to sleep. They rise again early next morning and, like the donkey turning the mill, begin anew this rigid pattern of life. The I are vegetarians almost throughout the entire year, in contrast to the
[272] Mongolians who eat only meat and no vegetables. They also differ
[273] from the Tibetans in that they drink no tea but only unboiled water. They do, however, enjoy alcoholic drinks and pipe-smoking as much as the other races. The I slaughter animals and eat their meat only on festivals, upon the arrival of honored guests, or on such great
263 events as marriage or funeral. Table salt is rare and valuable in Liang-shan, and the I would often ask guests to contribute some, even in the midst of a sumptuous feast. Occasionally, when they are able to obtain some salt lumps in trade with the Chinese, they store them away carefully, so as to feed their sheep a few days later. Without salt, sheep would easily get sick or die of pestilence, and that is why the I would rather suffer themselves and save the salt for their sheep. It is said that the average amount of salt consumed by an I of Liang-shan in one year is not even one ounce, which is indeed an amazingly small quantity. Western dieticians claim that table salt is one of the most important elements of nutrition which people must take in adequate quantity. In our two-weeks' trip through Liang-shan this time we did not miss salt terribly, but we did begin to feel its lack toward the end of the journey. Yet the I who eat so little salt are very healthy,
000 at least to judge from appearances. This is a matter which should be studied and is worthy of further investigation. In our country there are many frontier tribes who have very peculiar and simple diet, and

it would be of tremendous scientific value to assemble representatives from each tribe for comparative biological and chemical experiments, (e.g., on the assimilation of the new and excretion of the old.) This is something our scientists should study.

The reason why the I of Liang-shan take such an amazingly small quantity of salt is not their dislike of it but its scarcity. /103/ They are really more fond of salt than we are. For them salt is most precious and if they happen to find a small piece, they chew on it as we do chocolates. They are really quite pitiable in this respect.

With regard to clothes, Liang-shan does not produce cotton or hemp. All the cotton materials are bought from the Chinese. Cloth and salt, without which the I cannot get along, are the two largest imports of the I region. They themselves make two kinds of materials, both from sheep's wool. One of these, called "chan-tzu," is made of fibers of wool that are tightly rolled and compressed; the other, called "t'an-tzu," is a coarse woolen fabric woven by the I women, and is the more important of the two because it is used for making the ch'a-er-wo /cape-like outer garment/ and the long skirts worn by the women. All children below the age of ten go around naked without fear of the cold; they begin to put on clothes only after ten. The men wear a suit of blue coat and trousers. They prefer mao blue (a kind of dark blue) to er blue (light blue), and dislike white particularly because of its susceptibility to dirt. The style of their dress is similar to that worn by the Chinese, except for the especially wide trouser legs which measure about two feet in width and look much like a skirt at first sight. They are always mending on account of the scarcity of materials. This is the reason why the I, both men and women, are always asking for needles and thread from whomever they chance to meet. Thrown over the men's suit is a ch'a-er-wo, shaped like a cape. The difference in clothing between the rich and poor is one of quantity rather than quality. The poorest I has at least one ch'a-er-wo which he wears most of the time, regardless of the weather. The rich I often wears two ch'a-er-wo, or even three, not from fear of the cold but merely as a means of showing that he has one or two more than the rest. These all differ in length, the shorter ones being worn over the longer. This habit of relying on quantity rather than quality to indicate wealth seems to be a common one among the frontier tribes of our country.

The style of the I women's clothing is quite different from that of the Chinese. A cotton garment, usually with an opening on

291 the side but sometimes in the center, covers the upper part of the body, while the lower part is covered by a long, tightly pleated floor-length skirt made from the t'an-tzu and resembling the long [482] skirts worn by European women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also wear ch'a-er-wo, similar to those of the men, on the outside. The large lapelled garment worn on the upper part of the body resembles very much the kind of dress worn by the Manchu women in the last years of the Ch'ing period. The better dressed women have embroidered borders of peach-blossoms around the sleeve openings. The rich women wear two or three such garments, one on top of the other, with the shorter over longer, so as to show all the splendor of the lace trimmings. The motivation is the same as that of the men wearing several ch'a-er-wo.

/104/ Regardless of how elegantly a Lolo may be dressed, all of them--whether Heh-I or Wa-tzu, male or female, old or young--go around without shoes and stockings, or even a pair of straw sandals. It is not because they are unconscious of the benefit that may be derived from a pair of straw shoes, but because they simply cannot afford them and have thus become quite adept at walking around barefoot. It has already been mentioned that travel in the Liang-shan region is done chiefly by foot. It is certainly not amusing to walk with bare feet on the pebbly ground where there are neither roads nor bridges. Fortunately, this is not a serious problem as they have trained themselves in it since childhood. No doubt the soles of their feet are calloused from walking. It is said that the first concern of the I, after having forced the Chinese captives to become Wa-tzu, is to remove their shoes and stockings and force them to walkon their bare feet, hoping to assimilate them in this manner.

The ch'a-er-wo has a two-fold function for the I: it is used as an outer garment during the day and as a blanket at night. Whether at home or on the road, the I know not the meaning of baggage or bedding. This makes traveling much lighter. Except for the commodities to be transported, and occasionally a few things for themselves or others, they generally travel with only a light bundle which can easily be carried on the back. They find it very strange to see a Chinese unpack his bedding at night, and would crowd around to watch such a procedure. Their sleeping habits are very 513 simple. They use no bedding but wrap the ch'a-er-wo, which they 291 wear at all times, tightly around their bodies, draw in their heads,

and drop off to sleep. Such habits are practiced by both men and women whether at home or outdoors, whether sleeping on dry or wet ground. The ch'a-er-wo is certainly the most valuable object for the I: during the day it shelters them from rain and wind, protects them from the cold and sun, and at night it serves as their bedding. These practices, however, are possible only with the I who have strong constitutions and have relatively little fear of the cold and dampness, having learned to withstand them from childhood. Should the Chinese live in like manner, they would probably freeze to death after one night in the open air covered only with a ch'a-er-wo.

Although the Lolo are not afraid of the cold, they do dread heat tremendously. Perhaps the I in some districts of Yünnan province are an exception to this generalization. All the I of Liang-shan, however, fear the heat more than any other people in the world, and get sick as soon as they remain in a humid and hot place. Like the wild yak, they are a group accustomed to living in high mountains or at least half way up the mountain. /105/ Not only is it hard for them to bear the climate of Ch'eng-tu, but they cannot even live in the city of Lei-po, which is 1,260 meters above sea-level; nor can they always endure the extemely mild climate of Hsi-ch'ang, which is 1,820 meters above sea-level. There are very few families that live by streams or in the valleys and plains even though the fertile soil there may be used for cultivation. It is quite amusing to note that their selection of the dwelling site is on an entirely different basis from that of the Chinese. The latter, after a day's hard labor, generally do not wish to exert more energy by climbing a mountain; but the I, once the sun has set, find it most pleasurable to climb a steep mountain to return from the fields to their wintry homes.

Most of the houses of the Lolo, whether rich or poor, Heh-I or Wa-tzu, master or slave, have the same simple architectural style, and do not differ greatly in the quality of building materials. A Heh-I's house, somewhat larger than that of the Wa-tzu, generally consists of a row of three rooms, corresponding to the so-called three-room flat in Peiping. Its size is equal to that of the hsiang fang /side rooms/ of a Peiping house, the height being that of an ordinary one-story house. The roof is covered with yu-pan (narrow, unpainted and uneven wooden boards) in the style of a Tibetan house. The outer walls are made of mud, like those of a Chinese peasant hut. The three rooms are usually not separated. Only the relatively rich Heh-I partition off one room with a mieh hsi /mat made of bamboo-splints/ for

342 use as the master's bedroom. The center room is always used as kitchen, dining room, and living room combined. The remaining one serves as a stable for the cows and horses at night. There are no 343 privies, for all Lolo relieve themselves outdoors. In Tibet, people live on the upper story, while the ground floor is used as a stall for cows and horses, and as a privy. The Lolo, however, lead an even more primitive life; one can actually say that these people share their habitations with cows and horses. They have no true upper story although each of the two side rooms has a low, suspended upper floor made of thin strips of bamboo, which may be reached with a removable ladder. These suspended platforms are used mainly for food storage. Guests are also welcome to sleep upstairs as an expression of hospitality, or they may sleep on the muddy ground in the center room. While traveling in Liang-shan, we always preferred to stay on the ground floor for sleeping upstairs involved the danger of breaking through the partition and falling right to the ground.

/106/ In front of each Lolo house, there is a small piece of level ground used as a day-time resting place. The rooms are used solely as sleeping quarters. Except for one door leading out from the center room, there are no other doors nor windows; in fact, windows do not exist in the I region. The rooms are therefore very dark even 512 in the daytime and it is most uncomfortable to remain indoors. Hence all daily activities are performed outdoors where the little piece of level ground serves as a center. They do not enter the rooms before it is dark, and instead of using lamps, borrow light from the "kuo-chuang" /a cooking-pot stand above the stove/ for an evening meal, after which they drop off to sleep. The Wa-tzu toil all day in the fields and do not return until dark. The Heh-I, who are not obliged to labor in the fields, also refrain from doing any kind of menial work, which is 574 to be done by the Wa-tzu upon their return. For this reason it is customary for travelers in Liang-shan to wait until nightfall to visit or lodge with a family. Before that time there would be no one in the Wa-tzu's house, and though there might be some people at the Heh-I's, these would be no Wa-tzu there to attend them. In both cases the arrival of guests would be most inconvenient and embarrassing to the host. Should one discover that the hour is still too early, one might as well first take a nap on the way. It is of course permissible to be a little early. Under these circumstances, however, one must definitely not burst into the host's rooms but must stop and wait at the level ground in front of the house, which is the place where a host entertains his guests during the day.

The Lolo use extremely simple implements and have hardly any furniture in their rooms. Wooden objects such as beds, chairs, tables and stools are nonexistent in the I region. The only furniture--generally found in the home of the well-to-do Heh-I--consists of one or two wooden cupboards, in which are kept containers for ch'ao-mien, wooden bowls used at meals, and other articles of daily use, as well as things which they regard as family heirloom (such as certificates of award given by the government.) Close to the back wall of the center room there is a huo-k'ang /stove/, which is generally square and sometimes slightly oblong, though there are also round-shaped ones. Three stones forming a triangle and set within the huo-k'ang constitute what is called kuo-chuang, upon which a large iron pot is placed. The Lolo and the Tibetans use the same equipment for their kuo-chuang, but while the latter use an iron tripod to support the pot, the former use three pieces of stone, irregular in size in the ordinary I family but regular and attractively carved with designs and ornaments in the family of the well-to-do Heh-I. Furthermore, the Tibetans use their pot only for boiling tea to drink with tsamba, whereas the Lolo use it to cook all their food, except ch'ao-mien which is edible when mixed with unboiled water. The I never drink tea or boiled water, but only unboiled water whenever thirsty. This practice is most unsanitary. /107/ At any rate, in the I family, the kuo-chuang is regarded as something sacred. Should one ignore this fact and step across the kuo-chuang in a moment of carelessness or perhaps hang wet stockings above it to dry, he would cause serious protest or even violence. Likewise, one must not violate the wooden cupboards placed against the back wall of the room.

The I are more advanced than the Tibetans in that they eat cooked food and have a more complete set of eating utensils. At least in this aspect of their living, they have been influenced by the Chinese. Aside from bowls they also use chopsticks and ma-shih-tzu (little round wooden spoons with long handles, used for mixing soup). They have an especially large iron pot, with a diameter of about three feet, which is used for cooking and placed over the kuo-chuang. It is bought from the Chinese for the I do not know how to smelt iron. They burn firewood in the huo-k'ang. But like the Chinese they know only how to cut down the forest, but not how to preserve and cultivate it. Since the large trees have already been felled in most of the areas, they now have to resort to picking up odd pieces of dried branches to burn as brushwood. Fuel supply has become a serious problem in the sparsely populated Liang-shan.

361 The Lolo are accustomed to and like dwelling in groups. Rarely does one find a solitary farm in Liang-shan for the I tend to congregate wherever agricultural lands are fertile. Three to five families may make up a village, or it may consist of dozens of families. It differs from a Chinese village in three respects: first, the inhabitants of a Lolo village are either land-owners (Heh-I) or farmers, and there are no shops; second, the distance between the houses--sometimes as far apart as two or three li--is generally much greater than the distance [363] between the houses of a Chinese village; finally, the so-called roads in a Lolo village are merely beaten paths for there are no actual roads, to say nothing of streets paved with stone slabs.

356 Because of low civilization, the I care not at all for cleanliness. Neither the interior nor the exterior of the houses is ever swept; in fact, 296 brooms do not exist in the I region. Clothes are never washed although they do get wet on rainy days when the wearer happens to be walking outdoors or working in the fields, and thus they receive a cleaning without the slightest expenditure of energy on the part of their owner. 515 Whether men or women, the Lolo find it quite unnecessary to bathe or to wash their faces. /108/ No doubt, living amidst extreme hardships, they cannot be concerned with such matters. At the end of two weeks in the I region, we also began to lose the habit of washing our faces. It is not quite correct to say that the I do not like to bathe for they would undress and wash themselves whenever they have to wade or swim across a river deep enough for such purposes. For the women, however, these opportunities are limited, and this fact accounts for their disagreeable odor. Even when they are heavily made up, most of the Chinese cannot help retreating from them. Actually many of the Heh-I men and women are rather good-looking and have attractive features; the men are particularly strong and stalwart. If they could be well educated and taught to observe cleanliness, their bearing would not be inferior to the Chinese.

302 All the Lolo men have a square strip of hair on the front part of the head above the right forehead. It is about three or four inches in length, sometimes even long enough to be braided, known as t'ien p'u-sa /lit., heavenly buddha/, this strip of hair must be neither cut nor shaved; regarded as the most dignified part of the body, it is not to be touched heedlessly by others. A great insult it would be for someone to touch it even by mistake, and the anger aroused might be a matter of life and death. These are customs of which one should alway inform oneself before entering the region so as to avoid difficulties.

Apart from the t'ien p'u-sa, the rest of the head is shaved; sometimes, not the entire head, but only the bottom edge is shaved, leaving some short hair encircling the t'ien p'u-sa to give the effect of a sleeping cap. This is another of the peculiar Lolo traits. The women part their hair from the middle and wear it in two long braids to coil above the head. Neither men nor women will ever go out without the pointed, wide rimmed rain-hat, worn on the head or slung on the back. With regard to ornaments, all the Lolo like to wear jewelry. The men have their left ear pierced while the women pierce both. Ear ornaments are generally made of beeswax pearls, but those for the rich I are made of silver as well as corals and agates. The rich women also wear ear-rings, or at least some sort of expensive jewels. The very poor are sometimes content to wear merely a piece of black thread or a bamboo stick through the left ear lobe. Many of the women and some Heh-I men too wear silver bracelets and rings on their wrists and fingers. All of this indicates the Lolo's concern for beauty.

/109/ THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF

THE LOLO OF LIANG-SHAN

Previously, mention has already been made of the political and social organizations of the Lolo of Liang-shan. The most prominent feature of their social organization is the insurmountability of the class barrier between the Heh-I and Wa-tzu. Almost nowhere else in the world is found so inflexible a class system as theirs. As stated above, this class distinction is limited not only to the prohibition of marriage and sexual relationship between the two groups; it is also said that in Liang-shan the Heh-I consider themselves so superior to the Wa-tzu that they would not even be involved in a quarrel with the latter. It would soil their hands and lower their dignity to strike the Wa-tzu. Should a master wish to punish a Wa-tzu of his own household, he would order another Wa-tzu to inflict the penalty. Should a Wa-tzu by chance hit a Heh-I, society would regard this offence to dignity and higher rank such a serious crime that it would request the removal of the offender's hand.

As a superior group, the Heh-I treat the Wa-tzu with much contempt. Under this circumstance, why the latter have never rebelled is a question worthy of examination by sociologists. Upon analysis, their reasons may be as follows: First, the Wa-tzu class having always

565 been hereditary, its members are slaves by birth, so that the idea of slavery has been inculcated in them from childhood and it is not easy, as a rule, to break away from social traditions. Secondly, as their culture is very low and their education not much to speak of, the Wa-tzu have therefore never had the means of cultivating the idea of independence and liberty, and they cannot even dream of joining together for a class struggle. Thirdly, although there is no equality whatever in the social positions of the Heh-i and Wa-tzu and this class distinction can never be overcome, nevertheless, in respect to their economic situation and the simple pleasures of life which they enjoy, the Wa-tzu are accorded much more equitable treatment than that accorded the lower classes in other societies. These conditions that contain elements of socialism are actually an important factor in preserving the unequal class system in the I region of Liang-shan, and the chief reason for which the Wa-tzu have never rebelled. The greatest need of the common people in any society is a stable life in which there is safety and protection. More concretely, although the Heh-I consider themselves most superior, they really do not get much more enjoyment out of life than the Wa-tzu: e.g., should a Heh-I invite his Wa-tzu to dine with him at home, the master-slave relationship is of course very clearly defined--the Wa-tzu do not sit at the same table as their master, but dine with the other Wa-tzu. But, regardless of the master and slave status, /110/ the food served is the same for all. This practice differs from that in other places and constitutes an equality greatly enjoyed by the Wa-tzu. A Heh-I family usually leads [527] a very frugal life. Occasionally, however, when a reception is prepared for honored guests (e.g. Chinese officials) or for relatives and friends at a wedding or funeral, the master would summon all his Wa-tzu to enjoy and share the feast with him. From the economic point of view, a Wa-tzu can buy the land which he cultivates himself and need not pay land tax to the Heh-I. His main obligation to his [465] master is to till the latter's field for a certain number of days each [431] year without pay. In addition there are some set customs of presenting gifts for weddings and on New Year's and other occasions, all of which are common expressions of goodwill and not a burden to the farmers. Except for the fact that class inequality can never be surmounted, the relationship of the Wa-tzu and their Heh-I master is [421] similar to that of the tenant and landlord among the Chinese. The Lolo "tenants," however, do not have to pay rent or tax to the government and need only contribute free service to their master. Should

the Chinese regions adopt the social system of the Lolo, no doubt many 565
farmers would gladly occupy the position of the Wa-tzu. Needless to say, this freedom is not enjoyed by the small number of Wa-tzu serving in the homes of their master on a long term basis, but the majority of them receive special favors. They are still able to till their own fields during the day and return only at sunset to cook and do odd jobs for their master, with whom they live and board. On the other hand, although the Heh-I do not concern themselves with production and can have the Wa-tzu till their land and attend to their affairs, they are responsible for the defense of the territory and the protection of the Wa-tzu under their control. Should someone abuse their Wa-tzu, it would be regarded as an insult to themselves, and they would enter into a fierce combat even at the cost of their own life and property. As stated above, the relationship between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu is like that of the warrior and the producer classes: the latter produces to provide a livelihood for the entire society, while the former engages in warfare with outsiders to protect the safety of the entire group, so that their territory and property will not be attacked by others. The Heh-I are less numerous and must therefore increase their strength in times of war by mobilizing some or all of the Wa-tzu; they should assume, however, the responsibility of mapping out strategy and leading the groups in battles. Moreover, in fierce encounters the Heh-I in command would often disregard their own safety and show bravery by fighting at the head of the troops. This is another important reason why the Wa-tzu are so content and obedient, and willing to be loyal slaves to their Heh-I masters.

/111/ Another indication of a primitive socialism in the Liang- 574
shan society is a communal sharing on the economic level among the I of the same branch (e.g., those of Mo-shih chia). It is possible for a Heh-I to receive free lodging and food as a long-term guest at the house of another Heh-I of the same branch, and with the consent of his host, he can then move on to another house and live in a similar manner. These occurrences are, however, very rare for the I of Liang-shan are diligent and frugal and prefer to live by their own efforts. The system is nevertheless helpful when they are traveling. The relationship is naturally more distant between the I of different branches; yet unless they are enemies, they can always share the other's food at least on a short-term basis. It is only when the Chinese are passing through that custom demands a certain amount of remuneration for food and lodging.

565 The Heh-I have absolute power over the Wa-tzu under their control, and can even have them killed in moments of joy or anger. The Wa-tzu, on the other hand, obey their masters without the slightest rebellion. They are made to understand the difference in class status and to observe special respect for the Heh-I of other families. Should a Heh-I disapprove of a Wa-tzu of another household, he would deem it beneath his dignity to negotiate, but would either order his own Wa-tzu to do the quarreling or would protest directly to the master of the offender. The Wa-tzu are, in a certain sense, their master's chattel and can be bought, sold, or given away at his pleasure. In this respect they resemble the serfs of tsarist Russia with the exception that the latter were attached to the land belonging to the landlord and were always transferred with it. A Wa-tzu, however, possesses his own land and even though he may be sold or given away by his master, he remains owner of the land and neither of the Heh-I masters has a right to enjoy its products. (The land tilled by a Wa-tzu is of course given to him by his master for long term cultivation, and its ultimate ownership is therefore transferred with him to the new master. The fact that the Wa-tzu need not pay rent to his master for the land he tills constitutes the main difference between the situation here and that prevailing elsewhere.) At the same time there are many Wa-tzu (most of them recently captured) who have no land whatever and can only remain in the house of their master as attendants. This type of Wa-tzu is sold like an ordinary slave: the buyer gets the Wa-tzu, and the seller the payment. Apart from sales, the transfer of Wa-tzu occurs chiefly at marriages when they are given away as a part of the dowry of a Heh-I's daughter.

/112/ The preceding statements concerning the sale and giving away of the Wa-tzu and their death at the master's hands are the worst aspects of the Wa-tzu system. A brighter aspect is that most masters care for the Wa-tzu under their control and often give them some of their own possessions. The Wa-tzu are always required to make gifts at weddings or funerals, but if a Wa-tzu cannot afford the customary expenses on these important occasions, his master is bound to assist him or even assume the entire financial responsibility. In this respect the master's care resembles that given to slaves in other feudal societies.

The Wa-tzu system in the I region of Liang-shan is no doubt a remnant of the outmoded feudal system and should really be eradicated. But despite its many bad points, it too has some advantages,

which account partly for its persistence up to the present time. Recently many people have advocated liberating the Pê-I (Wa-tzu) or inciting them to revolt against the Heh-I, but they do not know that the majority of the Wa-tzu are quite content with their lot and do not desire change. (The Chinese captives reduced to the status of Wa-tzu are of course an exception.) Not only is it impossible to incite the Wa-tzu to revolt; it is even difficult to persuade them to escape from the I region and the Heh-I's rule. Naturally they are not to be blamed, for although they are slaves under the present system, at least their livelihood is not a problem. But if they should escape into unsympathetic societies where no one would have concern for them, they will immediately face the difficult problem of food and survival. To speak of liberty with an empty stomach is never easy. In order to rehabilitate the I region successfully, it is necessary to devise a suitable economic and social system to replace the present Wa-tzu system. Empty talk will not only fail to ameliorate the living conditions of the I people but might even increase their sufferings. 565

There are also distinctions of rank among the Wa-tzu of Liang-shan. The talented and capable Wa-tzu, or those who have been closely connected with the master's family for generations, are likely to be promoted by their Heh-I masters to household management. These are called "tang-chia /steward/ Wa-tzu." In each family, there is one of them who holds a higher position than the rest and may be considered as their leader. He usually lives in his master's house. If his duties include the preparation of meals and cooking, then he is called "kuo-chuang Wa-tzu." When the responsibilities of management and cooking are divided between two persons, the position of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu is lower than that of the tang-chia Wa-tzu, but /113/ higher than that of the ordinary Wa-tzu, for he is still regarded as one trusted by the master. Due to their higher intelligence, the Chinese captives are often promoted to tang-chia Wa-tzu or kuo-chuang Wa-tzu in a few years. The Heh-I's Wa-tzu (the so-called "Pê-I) often attempt to capture some Chinese as their own Wa-tzu. These Wa-tzu's Wa-tzu naturally hold a still lower position and are therefore called "san-t'an Wa-tzu," meaning a third class Wa-tzu. 555 565

The wealth of a Heh-I is generally determined by the number of Wa-tzu under his control. He can have as many as three or four hundred at a time. Naturally in the Lolo society where civilization is still in an extraordinarily primitive stage, land development and an increase in food production are mainly dependent on human labor. 556 567

565 This accounts for the perpetual need of additional Wa-tzu by the I of
567 Liang-shan. For hundreds of years, there has always been in this region a hereditary Wa-tzu class. But since its population has remained sparse and the fertility of its soil is low, the only method of increasing the number of Wa-tzu is to capture men and women of other racial groups. In this case all the captives happen to be Chinese, who are the only people living in the surrounding areas. This practice of the I is still being perpetuated today in full force. Some state that the total number of Chinese captives has already reached several tens of thousands (although this figure may be highly exaggerated) and that a considerable number are still being captured at the present time. According to their distribution by the hsien, the largest number of captives are taken from Lei-po, and next from Yung-shan in Yünnan province, captives are also taken from Ma-pien, O-pien, Yüeh-sui, Hsi-ch'ang and others. The general practice of the I is first to separate the captives of the same family or village and to dispatch them to different districts to prevent their joining forces and escaping together. The captor is their first master who may then sell his newly acquired Wa-tzu for silver. After these Wa-tzu have been carried around and sold repeatedly--sometimes throughout the entire region of Liang-shan, having been captured at Lei-po and ending up in Hsi-ch'ang--there would be no means of escape. The family may attempt through a middleman to ransom a captive if it knows his or her whereabouts. In these transactions the I's only concern is silver, and the ransom exacted is always dozens of times higher than the market price at Liang-shan.

584 Strange to say, features of both the Orient and the Occident
591 may be found in the Liang-shan society. As in the West, a son, after his marriage, establishes his own family apart from his parents; as in the East, the family organization is patriarchal, and the parents who are despotic select mates for their sons and daughters. This selection is based on the principle of a suitable alliance in respect to property and wealth--a form of commercial marriage, /114/ typical of an Oriental society. The bride's family usually demands a large settlement in proportion to her own family's wealth. Therefore when an I takes a bride he may be obliged to spend his entire savings and even to go into debt his entire life. For this reason many people cannot
587 marry at all. One of the results is the development of the system of "wife transference" whereby "a younger brother marries his sister-in-law at the death of his elder brother." Although this practice seems

to indicate contempt for womanhood, yet on the other hand, the social custom of the Lolo demands that special respect be shown to their women. In a family the man has unsurpassed power in name yet it is often the woman who has real authority--again a resemblance to the West and a departure from Chinese tradition. These inconsistencies are really quite amusing. A Heh-I, for example, may be contemptuous of the Wa-tzu, but he is always more polite to the female Wa-tzu. During relentless blood-feud fighting, a Heh-I woman may bring about a temporary truce by dashing into the midst of the enemy warriors and swinging her skirt. The continuation of fighting thereafter would be such an insult to the female truce-maker that she may even commit suicide. In this case the enmity between the two camps becomes even greater. It should be noted that this woman need not be a disinterested party, but may belong to one of the opposing camps. Unable to endure any longer the heavy losses, she may take up this responsibility on her own initiative. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui once related to us an amusing incident illustrating the respect in which women are held in Liang-shan and the influence they enjoy. During a trip in that region he and his companions arrived at a place where it was necessary to change protectors--a function customarily performed by a man (mostly the head of the family). Unfortunately all the men were out at the moment, and their only recourse was to engage as protector one of the three women left at home. At first Mr. Hsü deplored the situation, for a brave and strong man could at least put up a fight should they encounter danger. But later he was surprised at the special courtesy along the way when the party was seen accompanied by a Heh-I woman; thus they avoided many difficulties and received many unexpected favors.

The Lolo of Liang-shan also have a code of etiquette. They have definite seats around the kuo-chuang while entertaining guests at home. The guest of honor is seated near the back wall and other guests are placed on the side to his right. Regardless of the number of guests, they can sit only on these two sides. The host's place is on the side to the left of the guest of honor, and that of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu and slave girls is directly across. /115/ By nature the I are silent and dislike clamor; even a group of several tens of them never become boisterous with loud shouting. They are usually soft-spoken and not allowed to sneeze during meals. These good habits which the Chinese lack resemble Western customs. Of all impolite actions they consider breaking wind in the presence of others the most disrespectful. Eliminations are however not forbidden and may be most conveniently

514 performed since the Lolo men have especially wide trouser legs and the women wear no panties under their skirts. They do not find it strange to squat (since the I have neither chairs nor benches, this is the only other restful position aside from standing; however they do not sit with their legs crossed as do the monks while in meditation, but squat like dogs, with legs extended in front, bent backwards only from the knees, and their buttocks suspended) and while in this position to eliminate on the ground. To break wind, however, causes such great embarrassment that a woman guilty of this offence may even commit suicide.

574 The I, like the other border tribes, treat strangers better than the majority of the Chinese. As long as one can speak the I language, he can find food and lodging with any family, whether they are acquaintances or not. Native custom requires that no strangers be denied this kind of hospitality. An I would not even have to pay, although he could give a little present. A Chinese would customarily present to his host, gifts that are of equal or greater value than the cost of lodging and food. These gracious practices greatly facilitated our study in our travels through Liang-shan.

527] 805 The only times when the I make a lot of noise are at New Year's, weddings, funerals, or on festivals, which however are very few. The Lolo calendar is based on the twelve Branches /with which the Chinese name hours, days and years/ in the sequence of tzŭ, ch'ou, yin, mou, ch'en, ssŭ, wu, wei, shen, yu, hsŭ, hai; and the days are named in cycles of the rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar. (This system is probably copied from the Chinese.) Each year is divided into ten months and each month into 36 days--the 12 Branches thus making three appropriate turns. One day in the tenth month of every year is chosen as New Year's through a temporary divining rite by the "pi-mo." /diviner and exorciser/. Should there be a death in a family on a certain day, the family will never again choose that day as New Year's. Thus, curiously enough the New Year's is on a different day for different families.

764 Funerals are a serious matter for the I. The family of a deceased has his body carried up a hill for cremation on a lucky day chosen by the pi-mo. Local inhabitants, as well as relatives and neighbors--/116/ sometimes as many as several hundreds of them--congregate at the funeral and weep unrestrainedly. Marriages and funerals are two items of expenditure for the Lolo as they also are for other Orientals.

other Orientals. 000

The so-called pi-mo (Bemo) among the Lolo probably correspond to the shih-kung /male instructors/ among the Chinese, and hold a very important position in Lolo society. The I have no formal religious beliefs, nor do they worship gods; they do not even have ancestral tablets at home. But like other primitive tribes, they have a strong superstitious belief in ghosts and spirits. They do not administer medicine to cure the sick, who are supposed to have been possessed by demons, but kill chickens (ta chi) or sheep (ta yang) as a form of prayer to the spirits. They kill a chicken to cure a light illness; for more serious illness, they kill a pig, a sheep or a cow in proportion to the severity of the case. At the same time a pi-mo is invited to pray and exorcise the ghosts through sacrifices. If there is no recovery after all these endeavors they consider the case as hopeless and accept death, in which case the pi-mo is invited again to pray and release the soul from sufferings in the next world. Their only scientific measure against contagious diseases is to isolate a victim and his dwelling from others so as to prevent the disease from spreading. For this reason a place may be shut off for several weeks. [756] 755

The pi-mo are the only ones among the I versed in the Lolo language. They belong to the Wa-tzu class but are respected by the Heh-I because of their special position as scholars and exorcisers of ghosts in the Lolo society. They can practice only after several years of of apprenticeship with a senior pi-mo. They are called upon to attend all important affairs as well as cases of sickness and funerals mentioned above. They also participate in weddings and New Year festivals. Their other responsibilities include fortune-telling and choosing propitious days for fighting blood-feuds among themselves or joining in battle against the Chinese. 756

The different I branches may be either "ch'in chia" /relatives/ or "yüan chia" /enemies/. The I of the same branch cannot intermarry for the same reason that among the Chinese there is "no marriage between those of the same family name." The prospective bride or groom is usually chosen from a neighboring I branch. With repeated marriages, family relationships may be either manifold or interlinked; e.g., the three chia of Wu-po, A-lu and Ma-shih in the Ta-Liang-shan region are all related to one another. The branches related through marriages are called "ch'in chia" and work closely together, /117/ giving mutual aid in times of trouble even at the risk of death. They are as close to one another as those of the same clan (those who belong to the same branch. 582 596

000 to the same branch).

578 The relationship between the yüan chia is the very opposite of that between the ch'in chia. The Lolo have little education and culture; they are avaricious, quarrelsome and difficult to appease. An insignificant dispute--such as over a needle or thread--will make them yüan chia for generations. Even a one-time relative is liable to become an enemy, particularly if one of the married parties has already passed away. Neighbors who are enemies draw distinct boundary lines and maintain strict measures of defense. Each side is cautious and will not trespass upon the territory of the other under any circumstance. Otherwise the enemy can do with the intruder as it wills, even bringing about his death.

728 The Lolo make enemies easily but are reconciled with difficulty. Once enemies, two I branches remain enemies for generations and centuries, and no peace is possible between them except for a temporary truce. This type of mutual hatred and killing is very detrimental to the increase in birthrate among the I of Liang-shan. Peace is not attained even after cessation of actual warfare, since some slight incident may cause fighting to break out again at any moment. Both sides then summon their families and relatives--sometimes as many as ten branches--to fight with them, and thus spread bloodshed on a large scale. Only when both camps are exhausted and have inflicted irreparable losses on one another will fighting automatically cease, but as strength is regained, they will once more seek satisfaction for the wrong done. A cessation of hostilities may also be brought about through the effort of a Heh-I woman, as explained above, or through the mediation of a Chinese official. Yet regardless of the method employed to effect a truce, their enmity remains and will never be ended; it will burst forth again at the first opportunity. In regions close to the Chinese sphere of influence, there have been innumerable cases of Lolo people who have joined the Chinese in order to deal with their own enemies or who strive to appeal to the Chinese officials by slandering their enemies. These may be regarded as crooked ways of "fighting a blood-feud," and ought not to be encouraged. Such occurrences are still rare in the I region of Liang-shan, although "blood-feud fighting" (i.e. enemies fighting each other in opposite camps) is something which will continue to happen. /118/ In the event of the development of Liang-shan in the future, special attention should be paid to educating the Lolo, to be liberal and forgiving, not to develop hatred easily, and always to strive to dispel that hatred.

Such an attainment would be a great contribution toward the advancement of the I society. 000

THE HISTORY OF THE I TROUBLES IN LIANG-SHAN

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Chinese influence never really reached Liang-shan in the past two thousand years. Although the region was formerly under the jurisdiction of Szechwan province, as indicated by maps, this control was not exercised in actuality, and the region remained non-assimilated. Westerners even call it "the independent Lolo region." In the Ch'ing dynasty, Chinese territories included such outlying regions as Ch'inghai and Tibet. Liang-shan, though situated near the southwestern border, was a part of China proper; nevertheless, the names of the nearby administrative districts--Ma-pien and O-pien /pien means frontier/ (both names adopted in the Ch'ing period)--seem to indicate that Liang-shan has always been regarded as a frontier. The emperors of the early Ch'ing period were warlike and sent large-scale expeditions everywhere, reaching as far north as Outer Mongolia and as far west as Tibet. Why they overlooked the tiny Liang-shan region alone needs to be explained. Mr. Hsu Hsiao-hui stated that he had investigated all the historical materials of the Ch'ing dynasty to trace the matter to its source. Finally he found the entire story in the Sheng wu chi /Record of the Imperial Campaigns/ and the Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung chih /Record of the Unification of the Great Ch'ing Empire/. He discovered from these two books that in the first years of Emperor Ch'ien-lung's reign the court mobilized large armies from seven provinces, and sent them under the command of Marshal Yueh Chung-ch'i to conquer Ta Chin-chuan and Hsiao Chin-chuan. But the expedition met with difficulties on the way and was handicapped from the start. So some high officials of the imperial court sought audience with the queen mother and suggested that these grandiose campaigns were unnecessary for such minor incidents. Thereupon the queen mother reprimanded Ch'ien-lung, who found himself in an embarrasting situation. Just at this time the imperial army suddenly scored a victory and subdued the rebels at Chin-chuan. A difficult problem for the Emperor was thus resolved. But the expedition had cost millions of taels, which was a huge sum for the time, and the Treasury was drained. The Emperor, therefore, greatly pleased at the outcome of the Chin-chuan campaign, was anxious to recall the troops. At this moment, however, a blundering Viceroy of Szechwan memorialized the Throne, urging it to take this opportunity to send

175 the soldiers who had annihilated the rebels at Chin-chuan to conquer Liang-shan. He aroused the anger of the Emperor who sternly reproached him. Thereafter no one dared speak of the pacification of Liang-shan.

According to Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing's record, however, there were at least two more petitions to the Emperor to attack the Liang-shan reg on. The first was made in the eighteenth year of Tao-kuang's reign. /119/ The Viceroy of Szechwan, Su T'ing-yü, preparing for the defense of the frontier, found the I insubordinate and rebellious. Hitherto, they only surrendered reluctantly to the government whenever they were hard pressed by sporadic assaults, which had little effect on frontier affairs, but resulted only in more rebellions. It would have been necessary to send large forces to secure a lasting peace. So together with General K'ai Chang of Ch'engtu and Governor-general Chang Pi-lu of Szechwan, Su memorialized the throne, asking for an appropriation of 3,000,000 taels for the soldiers' rations and pay, and an army of 20,000 government and native soldiers to make a final concerted attack by taking four routes at the same time through O-pien, Yueh-sui, Ma-pien, and Lei-po. (It happened that the I of Ma-pien were making trouble at the time so that Su and the others were given an opportunity to memorialize the emperor.) They were, however, sternly reprimanded by imperial decree, which stated that such measures had never been used for handling frontier affairs. They were found to be at fault and demoted. The second memorial to the throne was made by Yü-T'eng, Sub-prefect Judge of Ô-pien, in the eleventh year of T'ung-chih's reign. At that time frontier situations were getting worse everyday, and to cope with the I affairs, the sub-prefecture had to expend huge sums which far exceeded its revenue. So Yü petitioned for an army to destroy the Heh-I by attacking all the I bases, to force them to deliver their leaders for execution and to return the men and animals which they had captured. Only this plan, Yü argued, could bring about lasting peace and control of the I. The imperial decree, nevertheless, rebuked him severely, stating that "the Heh-I are also the children of Heaven and Earth. How can one allow them to be exterminated? Besides, to exterminate is not easy; therefore refrain from it." The Ch'ing Empire began to collapse afterwards and I troubles became even more difficult to handle.

Although the lax policies adopted in the Ch'ing period never completely solved the I problem in Liang-shan, some attempts were at least made to meet the situation. The government laid equal emphasis on defense and pacification. In defense, it established at

all the strategic places around Liang-shan, military guard-posts where soldiers were stationed in order to prevent the I from slipping out. 175
Most of these places still retain the names they had as camps, and from this we can judge the strict defense measures taken at the time. In the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing in Szechwan province there were altogether 138 of these posts, distributed in more than 57 places, and the soldiers numbered something in excess of 10,000. The annual expenditure for I affairs exceeded 300,000 taels of silver and was about half the land revenue of Szechwan province towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. The importance of this problem may thus be deduced. In spite of these strict defenses the I continued to make trouble, and though no large campaigns were undertaken, clashes on a small-scale were quite frequent in the Ch'ing times. There were quite a few local military officers who gained rewards for military successes and who won the affection and support of the Chinese people. One of these heroes is Liu T'ing-chen, whose shrine stands today on the Lu Mountain in the vicinity of Hsi-ch'ang. The local officials also took advantage of the distance which separated this region from the court. Purposely stirring up troubles, they attacked the I on the slightest pretext, and then made false reports magnifying the smallest success to procure honors and promotion for themselves. Through the years there have been many who have prospered in this manner. Mu-kou-p'o, the one-time boundary division between the Lolo and Chinese in Lei-po hsien, appeared frequently in memorials to the Emperor; it helped not a few officials in Ch'engtu to wear red buttons on their caps /to get promotion/ even though they actually had no idea of its location. /120/ These conditions were of course demoralizing. Chinese influence, however, 175
has been gradually penetrating into Liang-shan: in the west it has ex- 177
tended from Hsi-ch'ang to Chu-heh and in the east from Lei-po to San-leng-kang in Heh-chiao. Some assert that it has already reached Huang-mo-keng. Meanwhile the I can only retreat into the surrounding mountains. In the first year of Hsüan-t'ung's reign, Chao Erh-sun attacked Liang-shan and tried to control the I by establishing at the site of the former garrison posts the walled city of Chao-chüeh hsien. Thus the court's authority was somewhat restored.

In addition to these defense measures and sporadic attacks, the 175
Ch'ing court also attempted to subdue the Liang-shan Lolo through en- 624
ticement or some form of appeasement. It included the appointment of the I as officials, guards of hills and roads, and attendants. (20)

20. Detailed information concerning the application of these

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methods may be found in Szu-ch'uan-sheng Lei-Ma-O-P'ing t'iao-ch'a-chi /Record of the Investigation of Lei, Ma, O, P'ing of Szechwan Province/ compiled by Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing and others, and published by the West-China Science Institute, Pei-p'ei, /Szechwan/, 24th year of the Chinese Republic. /1935/.

Titles such as t'u-ssu, ch'ien-hu /headman of thousand-families/, pai-hu, /headman of hundred families/, etc., were conferred upon the I officials. The official status of an appointee depended directly upon the influence of the branch to which he belonged. Through its inherent appeal, this system might have obtained results elsewhere, but in Liang-shan, where the I are like scattered sand and their branches mutually independent, it is of little use. Furthermore, most of the Heh-I, considering themselves superior and noble, look down upon the Chinese and have little interest in these official posts except for their salary. Devices such as having them protect hills and roads and work as attendants have obtained only slightly better results. During the Ch'ing period, the I were tolerated as long as they did not formally rebel, plunder, or kidnap people, but they were allowed to be arrogant and contemptuous of the Chinese. This explains why later, in the first years of the Chinese Republic, I troubles grew so rampant as to be beyond control.

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In addition to the last battle at Niu-niu-pa under the command of Chao Erh-sun, two other campaigns against the I of Liang-shan during the Ch'ing period are worth mentioning. In the seventeenth year of Tao-kuang's reign, the I of Lei-po began to cause trouble over a negligible incident. The Szechwan Governor-general Yü Pu-yün, with an army of 1,800 militiamen, 3,800 regular soldiers, and 500 garrison soldiers from Chin-ch'uan, led an attack from Lei-po, and going through Wu-chia-pa, Yang-tzu-ch'iao, Ta-ku-tuz and Hsiao-ku-tuz, he entered I-ch'ê and continued into the valley of the Mei-ku River to cut diagonally across Liang-shan. He then withdrew the army from Yüeh-sui, having spread his military influence far and wide. The second attack was in the seventh year of T'ung-chih's reign when Chou Chien-wa, a provincial commander-in-chief, led his army from Hsi-chang into Liang-shan and reached Niu-niu-pa. The fighting lasted long into the night and ended in a rout. His officer, Regiment-commander Yang, was killed in action. Although the losses were high, he was able to pacify the entire mountain and establish a fortress at the intersection, which laid the basis for the building later of the walled

city at Chao-chüeh.

/121/In the first years of the Ch'ing dynasty, the frontier areas were awed into submission by the strong military power of the government. But the ignorant I of Liang-shan continued to cause sporadic troubles although they did not dare revolt on a large scale. The authority of Chinese officials could still reach Liang-shan at that time. In the middle of the dynasty, however, the situation grew worse and the I became more insubordinate. The copper mines in Wu-po, for example, had to stop operation in Tao-kuang's reign. During the most flourishing period there were 14 copper and iron mines in Lei-po hsien. In all of them mining operations, which began in Chia-ching's reign, came to a halt in Tao-kuang's reign when I troubles were becoming quite uncontrollable. From the time of Hsien-feng's reign, the Lolo became even more seditious. The bulk of Lei-po hsien, for example, fell into their hands. But court authority was not yet entirely destroyed, and the I were still somewhat fearful of the government and had to yield whenever the officials adopted a very positive attitude. Important points of communication and the guarded areas were still in the hands of the Chinese. Chao Erh-sun's attack on Liang-shan during Hsien-feng's reign therefore had a speedy success.

The situation was quickly reversed after the Revolution of 1911. Formerly military expenses of the hsien were appropriated from provincial funds, but soon after the establishment of the Republic, these provinces came under the control of various warlords, and the funds were no longer available. Without them the armies stationed there for defense had to be transferred elsewhere. Guard-camps were dispersed and defense was maintained by men drafted from local districts. These men had neither battle experience nor appropriate training and could not match the soldiers formerly stationed there. Moreover, the 2,000 militia in the three hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, constituted only about one fifth of the total number of soldiers stationed there during the Ch'ing period, and their strength was also proportionately reduced. In the meantime military pay and rations were not appropriated in the first years of the Republic, and the expenses required for the pacification of the I had to be provided for by each hsien itself. Economic difficulties prevented prompt payment of salaries to the previously appointed native headmen; this also prompted the I to rebel. In addition to plunder and revolt, gradual encroachment upon neighboring territories was also a common occurrence. Even then, in spite of the large-scale withdrawal of troops, the "paper tiger" of the former Ch'ing period was

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not yet entirely exposed, and the I dared not make organized revolts on a large scale. Later the provincial government of Szechwan became more corrupt. The more than 200 Lolo detained as hostages in the prisons of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing in the Ch'ing times--their situation had kept the Lolo in some fear--were now released with a ransom by a group of corrupt officials seeking profit. The number of imprisoned I, most of whom belong to some unimportant branches, decreased to fewer than ten in each hsien. Thus the fear among the Lolo was greatly diminished and schemes for insurrection were hatched.

After the fifth year of the Republic, the Government of Szechwan province entered a period of confusion. In the seventh or eighth year of the Republic, warlords fought for control, creating almost a world of chaos. Poor soil and meager products induced few to concern themselves with the frontier districts of Lei, Ma, Ô, where I troubles were constant. Those guarding these places were mostly bandits /122/ and the like, who thought only of collecting money and had not the slightest interest in defense measures against the I or in governing them. The most important military man among the contenders for control of these districts was Yang Ch'un-fang, who had twice been stationed at the town of Lei-po (once in the fifth year of the Republic, and another time in the seventh year). At that time opium was very expensive in the Chinese regions while the I were short of magazine rifles. Yang gave them nine-bullet clip rifles in return for opium. Each gun was exchanged for 100 taels of opium. Yang profited tenfold in the transaction, while the I were able to arm themselves. (This type of smuggling was carried on since then and was not eliminated until recent years when it was strictly suppressed by the government.) There must have been at least 1,000 rifles smuggled into Liang-shan by Yang. The bandits in the secluded mountains of these hsien followed suit--selling guns and buying opium--thus contributing greatly to the expansion of the armed forces of the I. The latter then took advantage of the confusion caused by soldiers and bandits and set out on a large-scale offensive, robbing, kidnapping, burning, killing and occupying territories, and were more difficult than ever to subdue. The leading criminal who contributed to the outburst of such I violence is really the "originator of evil," Yang Ch'un-fang.

Around the seventh year of the Republic the majority of the defense armies of Lei, Ma, Ô, were successively transferred to join the civil war. Most of the weapons left at the local government offices

were seized by army bandits; there was hardly any force left to resist the attack of the Lolo. Everywhere they became reckless and fearless and retained no respect whatever for the Chinese. In the eighth year of the Republic, the Lolo of Liang-shan began a large-scale offensive. This rebellion was instigated by the prominent branches of En-cha and Wu-ch'i of Lei-po hsien, Wu-po of Ma-pien hsien, A-ho and Su-ko of Yueh-sui hsien, and Pa-chi (also known as Pa-ch'i) and A-shih of Chao-chieh hsien. These large branches united all the I of Liang-shan into a systematic organization, and taking separate routes, marched toward the Chinese territory. Finally in May of that year, they broke through the guard-posts of Ma-ching-tzŭ in Lei-po hsien; in June they occupied the city of San-lêng-kang and captured about 800 people, 380 soldiers, and more than 100 rifles. All of Lei-po west of Wu-chiao, extending for more than 100 li, was lost to the I; territories such as Tung-ning-hsiang and Li-tzŭ-p'ing in the eastern section of Lei-po were also lost. In June of the same year, the city of Chao-chieh hsien, attacked by the combined forces of Pa-cha chia and A-shih chia, fell, and the entire hsien was occupied by the I, as were the guard-posts of Yu-cha-p'ing and Yen-feng in Ma-pien hsien. Only Kan chia of O-pien did not participate in this uprising. It was a strictly organized military maneuver, careful in planning, swift in movement, and vast in scope. The Chinese could not react in time and suffered heavy losses. All their lands and properties were seized, their houses burned, and the streets ruined. The foundation upon which the Chinese were gradually able to make a stand through hundreds of years was swept away in one stroke. Several ten thousands of Chinese men and women either fled, were killed, /123/ or captured to become Wa-tzu; there hardly was anyone fortunate enough to escape. The I who had swept out of their mountain fastness succeeded in reaching Lei-po on the east, Hsi-ch'ang on the west and O-pien on the north, in all which places they struck directly at the hsien cities. Although these did not fall, they were nevertheless in imminent danger. The vast outlying districts between the cities were naturally beyond Chinese control. I troubles were worst in the ten years from the eighth to the seventeenth year of the Republic. The inhabitants in all the surrounding hsien feared for their own safety, and even local officials were often killed. There are two outstanding examples. In the ninth year of the Republic, the I in the sub-hsien of Peng-tzŭ-tsun revolted and murdered the assistant magistrate Huang Lung-hsun; and in the autumn of the fifteenth year, the magistrate Lo Cheng-kuan was also murdered in Peng-tzu-tsun

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175 in addition to a loss of 500 guns.
669 After the eighteenth year, order in Szechwan province was gradually restored, and the I were more submissive. At the same time there were also a few local military commanders who were able to subjugate the I more effectively. In the nineteenth year, Regiment-commander Wang Lin-sheng personally led an army to enter Liang-shan from Lei-po, felling trees to clear roads and binding bamboos to make bridges; then, going through Ta-ku-tui and Hsiao-ku-tui, he attacked Huang-mo-keng. On the way the army camped for about seven days at Li-chia-tsao and organized the Wa-tzu around the neighborhood into pao-chia /tithing/. Although Wang withdrew from Liang-shan not long after, this was the first time since the Republic that the military influence of the Chinese extended west of Mu-kou-p'o. But the man who had the most effective control over the I in the last 20 odd years was Teng Hsiu-t'ing, who made several expeditions into the area of Chao-chüeh, San-wan-ho, Szu-k'uai-pa-tzu, and almost recaptured Chao-chüeh city. Unfortunately the outbreak of the civil war in Szechwan cut short his success. Even today the Lolo of Liang-shan fear the name of Teng, which they evoke in order to stop children from crying. From this one can see that action only can bring about results and that it is not impossible to conquer Liang-shan.

175 311 In recent years, Chinese policy toward the I stresses land reclamation. This matter was first directed by the 24th army. In the seventeenth year of the Republic the army reorganized the Development Department of Lei, Ma, Ō, P'ing, with the aim of constructing highways running through these four hsien. They were, however, unable to carry out this plan though slight progress was made in the reclamation of lands. Later a rearrangement of military districts put these hsien under the jurisdiction of the 17th division of the Szechwan army. Around the twenty-fifth year, this division established a reclamation farm at Ch'ing-k'o of Lei-po hsien, and Company-commander Fan Yung-hui was appointed director in charge of the reclamation program. Fan was a capable man, and his chief assistants were soldiers from the original 17th division. With sufficient strength and strict organization, his method of using troops as farmers easily attained results. Within five years after the establishment of this farm many of the cultivable barren lands previously occupied and laid waste by the I were opened up. The local people say that after the eighth year of the Republic, nine-tenths of Lei-po hsien had fallen to the I. /124/ After these endeavors the land was partially recovered, although

eight-tenths of the entire hsien was still in I hands up to the thirtieth year. In addition to Lei-po, the hsien of Ma-pien and O-pien also made similar efforts. Later, around the twenty-ninth year, the government of Szechwan again established a Reclamation Bureau for Lei, Ma, O, P'ing, and Mr. Jen Ying-ts'ang was appointed as head. He maintained the status quo of the reclamation work but put it entirely under the Bureau's control. After ten years these attempts at reclamation have produced considerable results. Unfortunately, political measures were not in keeping with these efforts so that conflicts between the Chinese and I are worse than ever. The I are very resentful over reclamation, for they think that the Chinese are using military power to seize their territories. Their enmity toward the Chinese has grown to such a degree that recently the I of O-pien, who have never rebelled, have also begun to agitate. Henceforth it may be borne in mind that there are disadvantages as well as advantages in the program. At any rate this is definitely not the way for a complete settlement of the I region. From now on, those who would discuss reclamation should consider every point in detail before taking action.

Shortly after the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Central Government moved west, and the problem of the I region of Liang-shan gradually came to the attention of the public. After the organization of Sikang into a province, rehabilitation of the Ning districts was considered one of the important projects. A committee for investigating I affairs in these districts was established. It was later reorganized as the "Reclamation Committee of the Ning Districts," with a larger scope of duties, although I affairs were still its main concern. Great progress was made within three years. Aggression and appeasement policies--with more emphasis on the latter--were tried at the same time. Although the basic principles are the same as those adopted in the Ch'ing period, these methods produced better results because of more skillful operations and stricter organization. Take, for instance, the city of Chao-chüeh which fell in the eighth year of the Republic and remained in I hands for 20 years. Although the provincial government formerly appointed a magistrate, this magistrate always lived in Hsi-ch'ang and never went into the hsien to perform his duties. The city was reconquered in the twenty-eighth year, but in January of the thirtieth year, it again fell into the hands of the rebellious Pa-chü chia. In March of the same year, however, the Generalissimo's Headquarters at Hsi-ch'ang and the Reclamation Committee sent combined forces to attack and regained it. Communication between Hsi-ch'ang and Chia

669 175 636 Chao-chüeh was again restored under Chinese control. The peculiar situation of the past 20 years was thus brought to an end, marking the progress made recently concerning I affairs.

The majority of those conversant with I affairs agree that the policy toward the I region of Liang-shan must depend somewhat on military strength and repression. Formerly, however, /125/ most 669 175 people have had two kinds of mistaken notions concerning this problem, which should be corrected here. One was the feeling that Liang-shan was difficult to conquer; the other was the belief that a complete military conquest of Liang-shan was necessary in order to produce results. It will now be shown why neither of these two notions is actually correct. First, the combat strength of the I has been overrated It is true that in the last few centuries the Lolo often made troubles, which became particularly violent after the establishment of the Republic. A close scrutiny, however, reveals that the inability to conquer Liang-shan in former times was really due to the fact that conquest was never attempted. The I caused sporadic disturbances, but they generally dispersed upon the arrival of large troops. If there had been foresight during the Ch'ing period and some soldiers had been sent to occupy the strategic grounds of Niu-niu-pa and Yeh-lu-na-ta inside Liang-shan, these problems would have been resolved long ago and would not have recurred today. It is true that there is certain unity among the I, who can also at times make swift and ingenious military moves. These circumstances, together with topographic difficulties and lack of roads and provisions along the way, may have caused some Chinese commanders to feel that it was a difficult task to subdue the I of Liang-shan. Nevertheless, the obstacles are by no means greater than those found in regions such as Sikang, Tibet, Ch'ing-hai and Mongolia, where military expeditions undertaken during the first years of the Ch'ing period were successful. There would be no difficulty in achieving success in as tiny a region as Liang-shan if the whole matter could be treated seriously and detailed planning be done beforehand, so that the troops might advance with confidence and care, constructing bridges and roads, establishing military posts and securing provisions along the way. Because of their observance of these requirements, famous commanders in the past, such as Lin T'ing-chen of the late Ch'ing period and Teng Hsin-t'ing of the Republic times, were always victorious in their expeditions against the I. In the past 20 years, some militarists have increased the strength of the Lolo considerably through the unlawful exchange

of guns for opium. However the only weapons of the I are rifles, pistols and muskets, the firing power of which is much inferior to that of the commonly used firearms such as the machine guns and trench motars of the government's regular army. Furthermore, the I, lacking bullets and practice, are unable to aim accurately. Some friends, who have traveled in other I regions, state that the I are most fearful of good marksmen. In a surprise attack, therefore, if one should first kill one or two attackers with a gun, then those remaining, regardless of their number, would all disperse at once. The Lolo of Liang-shan are probably no exception. The recapture of Chao-chieh city in March of the thirtieth year exemplifies the fact that those with superior weapons can win. In this battle, with only a few soldiers, the government army had to meet a large number of enemies. As it was besieging the city, the I again occupied San-ko-ho and blocked the rear route. But thanks to the machine guns, the army was victorious. Many of those familiar with conditions in Liang-shan believe that if only the government would dispatch a very fine regiment of modern troops, it could without doubt subdue Liang-shan completely. The writer agrees with them. It would be easiest for the troops to take the route eastward from Hsi-ch'ang /128/ and make a direct attack on Huang-mo-keng. Naturally the desired result would be even more quickly attained if the military force was more substantial and attacks were made from all sides. The total number of I in Liang-shan is not large, and available fighters are therefore limited. In former battles they seemed numerous because they assembled from all places. Since they ran very fast and were also familiar with the geography of the region, they could spread news much faster than government troops. If a large army could be speedily assembled and correct military strategy used, the Lolo would not be able to resist. Formerly, because of the amazing speed with which the I assembled in answer to a call, it was believed that they had enormous manpower. The fear thus aroused was due to a false understanding of the situation. The Chinese living in the frontier regions dread the I because the latter are armed while they are not. The solution henceforth is to give a suitable number of weapons to the Chinese so that they may have some means of self-defense. I problems which cause authorities much vexation will thus be greatly reduced. Furthermore the troops sent to occupy Liang-shan must have particularly fine equipment and strict discipline. Only thus will it be possible to avoid some of the evil practices of former times, such as trading guns for opium, and to preserve peace in the I region forever.

669
175

000 With regard to the second point, the author believes that at least in the beginning of the period of rehabilitation, troops have to be sent to repress the Lolo of Liang-shan. Attacks, however, should be avoided whenever possible. The Chinese and I were formerly alienated because of language barriers and mutual misunderstandings, all of which created many unfortunate results. Even Ku T'ing-lin, a learned scholar of the Ch'ing period, wrote the following in reference to the tribal peoples of the southwest: "They have the nature of animals. They are fond of killing and lack humanity; they are deceitful and untrustworthy. Warfare is their daily occupation and plunder their toil. At first they petitioned the establishment of government merely because they covered bribes; at times they pretended to surrender because they feared authority. In the past they rebelled either because they observed China's weakness or relied on their own strength, or because they were spoiled by perfunctory government or aroused by severe reproaches; they rebelled either at the instigation of others, at seeing something they coveted, or to avenge an old enmity. Why could they not in all these years have roamed pleasurably amid the hills and dales which they were cultivating, and thus preserve peace at the frontier and avoid trouble?" From the time of Mr. Ku until recently--more than 300 years--all those who have studied the Lolo problem have had a very bad impression of the I. This is also true of those who have traveled in Liang-shan to make a field-study. The majority, after their return, assert that a thorough subjugation and mass massacre of the Heh-I by a large army are necessary in order to solve the I problem. Slogans such as "The I are animals by nature," "The I fear authority and are unmindful of virtues," etc., are on the tip of the tongue of every frontier Chinese. These bad impressions are mostly due to the prevalent belief that vanity, avarice, cruelty, and suspiciousness are the four traits of the I people. It is said that in practice /127/ the I prize swindling, despise faithfulness, consider larceny a talent and plunder a virtue; they do not think it shameful to be lazy nor improper to murder and rob. These impressions naturally have some basis. But, unless one believes in the theory of man's "evil nature," it does not make sense to assert that the Lolo are particularly bad by nature. Their faults and unreasonable practices are mostly a result of their upbringing, and education, instead of extermination, is the solution. The most appropriate methods to be used by the government in the administration of the I region in the future should be as follows: on the one hand, to build a highway running through Liang-shan, along which stations

could be established and trading posts under government management opened, supplying the much needed salt and cloth for the I region, and at the same time to limit the medium of exchange to national currency so as to maintain economic control; on the other hand, to organize social welfare groups, to found schools and hospitals, and to guide the I in the use of new agricultural methods so as to improve their living conditions. The carrying out of this new policy--particularly the building of a highway--will definitely encounter resistance in the beginning. During this period sufficient military strength should be provided to force operations when necessary. At the same time everything should be managed with great care. With the highway in use and the national currency in circulation, the I will soon become sinified, their living conditions will be improved, and their culture raised. The Chinese-Lolo boundary will then gradually disappear, and all the vexatious problems of former times will be automatically resolved. 000

PREPARATIONS FOR FIELD-STUDY IN LIANG-SHAN AND THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN THIS STUDY

Some say that it is as difficult to make a field study in Liang-shan as it is to explore in Africa. This may be an exaggeration, but to penetrate into Liang-shan for a field investigation is certainly not a simple matter. Traveling in this region involves more difficulties than in any other region in China. A trip there is no easy undertaking and cannot be carried out without adequate preparations. 484

The obstacles involved in traveling through Liang-shan are of various kinds. The first is geographic. The terrain of Liang-shan is not particularly difficult, but no roads have been built there and the paths made by nature are either very precipitous or narrow, thus causing much trouble in traveling and transportation; for example, it is impossible for draft horses and t'iao-tzu /a coolie who carries loads with a pole on his shoulder/ to travel on the so-called main routes of La-mi, Heh-chiao, and Wu-chiao, east of Huang-mo-keng; only pei-tzu /a coolie who carries loads on his back/ can be hired for transportation purposes. /128/ The lack of bridges along the way makes it necessary to ford rivers and streams everywhere. These conditions are also found in Sikang (the K'ang districts) and Tibet. Traveling there, however, is always done by horse, so that one can remain on horseback when wading through water. In Liang-shan, however, one must either walk 487

487 or travel in a sedan chair. Of course, to cross a little stream in straw sandals poses no great problem, but it is baffling when the streams are large and difficult to ford. This problem is particularly serious in the summer when mountain floods cause the sudden swelling of many streams. The waters of Mei-ku River, especially, often reach up to the chest, making it impossible to ford, while swimming in the turbulent waters is quite dangerous. These circumstances were great handicaps in our passage through Liang-shan. With the exception of the food situation, autumn and winter are a more suitable time for traveling in Liang-shan. But, since the territory there is very much above sea-level, it is most uncomfortable to wade through icy cold water in winter.

484 Besides swollen streams, there are other seasonal hinderances to traveling in the summer. The Lolo's exaggerated fear of heat, which can hardly be equalled by other people, makes it difficult to persuade them to take a walk in the mountains, not to say to take a trip to Lei-po or Hsi-ch'ang with additional burdens on their backs. But this aid is necessary, for the luggage of the Chinese, unlike that of the I, cannot consist of a simple ch'a-er-wo, and is too heavy for the traveler himself to carry. If Chinese coolies cannot be found and the I obstinately refuse to go, that would be a real impasse. Another reason why the I do not wish to travel in summer is that it is a busy agricultural season. Furthermore, sanitary conditions at the frontiers are very backward, and in summer contagious diseases such as cholera, dysentery etc., often break out in the more populous sections. The I, fearing illness as they do a tiger, are even more reluctant to set out. Such were the problems we came upon in our trip through Liang-shan.

[164] Two or three months before our arrival, dysentery (which the I call "hot disease") broke out in Lei-po, and the I dared not descend the mountains to go there. For this reason the magistrate Chang P'ei-ken had to turn back mid-way en route to Lei-po. When we met him this time in Hsi-ch'ang, he strongly advised us to go to Liang-shan later so as to avoid the same difficulties. On account of the pressure of time, however, we insisted on leaving immediately, and indeed encountered many annoyances later at Mo-shih chia. Frankly, there is no hope of undertaking a field study of Liang-shan without a will as determined as /129/ that of T'ang Seng /also known as Tripitaka, the hero of the novel Hsi-yu chi/ in search of the Buddhist Scripture. During our preparations in Hsi-ch'ang, we encountered more dissuasion than encouragement. Floods, "hot diseases," the danger of being

captured as Wa-tzu were reasons given by those who advised us against this trip or at least to postpone it. Traveling through Liang-shan a few years ago would have been less of a problem. Recently it is rumored that the Chinese are about to build roads through Liang-shan and then to follow this with a military conquest. Having been put into great fear, the I try to prevent the road construction in a hundred ways. All those who are engaged in field studies of the region are in danger of being suspected as road surveyors. The Lolo of Ta-Liang-shan had assembled to discuss some means of hindering passage with the result that for several years no one had made a trip across Liang-shan. We later discovered that this was also the reason of Mr. Chang P'ei-ken's failure to reach Lei-po, the "hot disease" being given merely as an excuse. Heedless of all advice, we entered Liang-shan and indeed met with many difficulties along the way. Only by sheer force of will were we able to complete the entire journey on foot diagonally across Liang-shan. At this point it is necessary to render thanks to the first explorer of this region, Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing. He gave us much encouragement during our temporary stay in Hsi-ch'ang, while a number of friends were advising us against the trip, and also explained many of the conditions found in Liang-shan. This knowledge proved to be of great help to us later. It is absolutely necessary to make sufficient inquiries before attempting to travel in a region where the customs and habits are almost like those of a foreign country. 484

The seasons and topographic features of the region were of course great hindrances in our field study of Liang-shan, but the greatest obstacle was the human factor, which was indeed difficult to surmount. In other words, there is inherent danger in traveling through Liang-shan, for the I like to seize the Chinese for Wa-tzu. The "self-important" Heh-I have always been contemptuous of the Chinese whom they regard as inferior and worthy only to be Wa-tzu. Even in ordinary times they would emerge from the mountains and capture the Chinese in surrounding areas to supplement their Wa-tzu supply. To go into the I region on one's own initiative is plain self-destruction. Furthermore, the Lolo and Chinese are mutually resentful because of many previous clashes. The former particularly are very narrow-minded and never forget resentments. Capture or murder is difficult to avoid if one enters Liang-shan without special protection. No wonder the majority of the Chinese dare not go there. People of other places may have a rather hazy impression of the I region and may not feel so terrified. Those in its vicinity, however, have a thorough and vivid knowledge, and most of [186]

484 the common people of Lei-po and Hsi-ch'ang, for example, /130/ tremble at the mention of Ta Liang-shan. If you tell them that you would like to take a pleasure trip there, they will certainly think that you are crazy.

What then must a person do if he definitely has to go into Liang-shan? If his destination is close to the Chinese region or is under Chinese jurisdiction, he needs only hire an I (preferably a Hêh-I) to guide the way without any special protection. Such is the present system along the route from Hsi-ch'ang to Chao-chu'eh and Chu-hêh. But if the destination is exclusively an I district, which the Chinese influence does not reach and which merely makes perfunctory observanc of government orders, it would be necessary then to hire an I as protector. In other regions where bandits abound, one can travel with a military escort, but not so in Liang-shan, where even the soldiers dare not enter. Furthermore, light armed units are of no help here. The I are particularly fond of guns so that not only is it unsafe to carry weapons, but it will simply incite the I to seize them. The only sure method is to carry no arms but to ask the Hêh-I for protection. This so-called "protector system," which still exists, has always been relied upon by merchants who carried on trade in Liang-shan, and also by official representatives who were sent to study and investigate the region. The system presupposes some remuneration in exchange for the protection of a Heh-I leader (for example, the head of a Hêh-I branch) or a representative named by him as "protector." It resembles that of the so-called "bodyguard" system of our country in the past. For the merchants remuneration takes the form of a certain percentage of the merchandise transported, or of a certain amount of silver agreed upon by both parties. Partly for "face" and partly for practical reasons, the Heh-I, who like to put up a good front, do not exact as much from the officials as from the merchants, and a relatively valuable gift (such as salt, cloth, etc.) will often suffice. Hence the so-called "protector system" is actually a form of insurance.

The operation of the protector system makes it possible to travel in Liang-shan. It should be noted, however, that all the I branches in this region are mutually independent. There is no problem of passing through the territory of the Hêh-I who acts as protector, but safety is not assured in regard to passing through other territories. A protector with great influence or a likable personality can aid tremendously by accompanying a party through three or four stations. On the other hand, those with little influence /131/ can sometimes

accompany the travelers for 20 or 30 li only when it becomes necessary to change protectors again. This causes not only a great deal of trouble but also a terrific expenditure. Every change in protectorship requires an additional fee, and this incessant fleecing is often a great strain upon the merchants. The I region is not very populous so that the few better known Heh-I are recognized by all. Their low level of culture permits recognition only of the person himself. Letters as a means of protection, for example, are not possible, and troubles may arise even with a representative of the protector. Therefore when a Heh-I leader, or the head of a Heh-I family, accepts protectorship, he generally takes it upon himself to accompany the travelers. Should illness or an important matter prevent him from going, he would usually appoint a close relative (such as a brother or a son) of adult age to bear this responsibility. If this protector is not recognized on the road by the I encountered, the latter would call out from afar, asking for the name of the family assuming protectorship. At that time the protector would give either his family name or his own name, and thus the party will be permitted to pass through. If no protector is present and the queries cannot be answered, the group would immediately be robbed or captured. It has also been said that since the I recognize only the words spoken and not the person encountered, a Chinese who knows the I language can often pass through their region safely. But it is difficult to make this statement with certainty. It probably does not always hold true, for among those who live in the vicinity of the I region, there are many who speak the Lolo language very well and yet they are more fearful of the I than we are.

Regardless of how capable he is, a protector must stop when he arrives at the territory of his enemy. A relatively honest I, having been informed of the route to be taken by the travelers, will tell them that these areas belong to his enemy and that he cannot assume responsibility, and will advise taking another route or changing protectors at some spot. A more cunning I will not bother and, having accompanied the travelers to the border of the enemy's territory, will then turn around and run, leaving the travelers at a complete loss. Furthermore, the protector guarantees good-conduct only by members of his own branch, but not by those of other branches, particularly when the travelers are in the latter's territory or in a no-man's land. Sometimes kidnapping and plundering are planned together by the two branches concerned, and there is no means of pursuing the matter afterwards. An I acting as protector may also harbor evil intentions and simply sell

484 his protégés as Wa-tzu after they have entered the I region. For this kind of intrigue (protection and then sale), there is a special term
567 known as "chuang t'ung-tzu" /to load a barrel/. A considerable number of Chinese merchants going into Liang-shan have undergone this experience as we discovered through our conversations with the Wa-tzu of Chinese origin in our recent trip through Liang-shan. The Wu-ch'i chia in Lei-po hsien /132/ are particularly fond of this ruse. On the whole, the I are rather tactful in their dealings: in general, they dare not touch the officials but they have no qualms in humbugging the merchants. For the latter who think only of profit, this is a very good lesson. Quite a few opium merchants thought they could make easy money in Liang-shan, but just as they were about to leave the place with bags full of money, they were carried away to become Wa-tzu, never again to return to their native land. This is certainly a most remarkable retribution.

Once a Chinese has been captured in Liang-shan, the chances for his escape are very slight. Even ransom is difficult. He does not remain as Wa-tzu at one definite place, but is sold as merchandise wherever there is profit, until finally even he himself does not know where he is. In these repeated sales, there are innumerable cases in which a native of Lei-po is carried all the way to Hsi-ch'ang and a native of Hsi-ch'ang to Ma-pien. In the case of a whole family of Chinese captives, the I cause much sorrow by separating wife, husband and children, so that they would never see each other again. The I hope thus to prevent the captives from joining forces and escaping together. With this system in force, very few of the Chinese captives can ever hope to return. Resistance will lead to killing, and submission to slavery, old age and death in the I region. Whoever goes to Liang-shan can often meet those Chinese who have been forced to become Wa-tzu in the I region for dozens of years. No wonder the Chinese living near its borders fear going there.

485 The hardships of traveling are another difficulty one encounters in a field trip to Liang-shan. At present the standard of living of an average Chinese is not high, but when compared to that of the I of Liang-shan, the difference between them is like that between the sky and sea, and may be measured by centuries. While traveling, we had no place to eat at noon and no bed to sleep on at night except the ground at the home of some impoverished I family. Thus muddy ground often serves as bed, buckwheat buns as food, and the most unsanitary unboiled water as drink. There is no boiled water or tea. Salt lumps

must also be carried along. It is hardship enough for a Chinese, who is 483
accustomed to eating rice, to be forced to rely on cereals for his food, but when other discomforts are added to it, life then becomes unbearable. Perhaps our living conditions in a civilized society are all too comfortable. Of course, with ample funds and adequate means of communication, it is possible to diminish some of the hardships by bringing white rice and other customary foods into the I region. Actually this was what the various study groups had done in the past. On our present trip, however, we did not take any food because first, we did not have adequate funds; second, /133/ communication was difficult; and third, we wanted to experience fully life in the I district in order to make an even closer study and to understand better the hardships of the I themselves.

Communication is a great difficulty at present. Formerly the 484
majority of the gentlemen making field studies of Liang-shan traveled by means of the sedan chair, and were not too much troubled by poor roads. Our group decided from the very start to make the entire journey by foot. This eliminated the necessity and inconvenience of looking for sedan chairs, but also made us experience to the full difficulties of traveling in the Liang-shan region. The greatest trouble is that the I do not wear straw shoes so that those which we needed for ourselves and the coolies for the journey had to be carried all the way from Hsi-ch'ang. Our estimate of the number needed proved however to be inadequate, for in addition to the unavoidable wastefulness on the part of the coolies, poor roads also quickly wore out the shoes. When we reached Lei-po after walking across Liang-shan, we were all wearing our last pair of straw shoes. If an extra day of walking had been required, we would have had to walk barefoot on the stony paths of the I region in a most distressing state.

In Hsi-ch'ang Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing repeatedly advised us to disregard high prices and hire Chinese coolies to transport the luggage to Lei-po. All the groups making field studies of Liang-shan had done this in the past. Remuneration was made in the form of daily payment as well as meals (taken at the home of the I and paid in a lump sum by each study group). Even opium, which these Chinese carriers cannot do without, must be bought and taken along for them. We agreed with Mr. Ch'ang that it would not be a reliable or economical plan to hire the I to carry things along the road; it would merely cause additional inconveniences. Conditions have, however, changed greatly since the War of Resistance. Manpower is lacking in the rear

484 because of conscription and construction of highways. It was difficult to find carriers for travel to other regions (e.g., along the Ya-an route), and almost impossible to hire coolies for a trip to Liang-shan. At the [492] time of our trip, draft horses were already able to travel on the route from Hsi-ch'ang to Chao-chüeh. Only a few horses, however, were making this trip, for many horse-tenders were unwilling to go even at a high price, and horses were not available in Hsi-ch'ang. The horses that were making the trip stopped at Chiao-pao-tzu in the vicinty of Chao-chüeh city. We sent for them twice but in vain. Later an I family living at Wan-ch'ang River consented to wait for us and accompany us from there to Chao-chüeh. Having engaged porters to carry our luggage to Wan-ch'ang River, we found upon arrival there that no one would go. After much trouble we were at last able to find a party at a high price. All in all /134/, communication difficulty was one of the main reasons for our long delay in Hsi-ch'ang, where we had to stay for more than ten days.

483 All the difficulties mentioned by Mr. Ch'ang were later verified in our trip. The Wa-tzu are strong and can carry heavy burdens for long distances, but they are by nature lazy and not interested in carrying things for the Chinese. Those hired by us walked very fast at first, but after a while, they complained repeatedly that they were exhausted and rested at every opportunity. The load they can carry, compared to that of the opium-addicted Chinese coolies, is naturally much greater, but so is their laziness. Therefore it was quite annoying for us to walk with them. In addition, the I have many enemies, and once they reach enemy territory, which they dare not enter, they immediately throw down the things and run away, without caring whether or not the travelers are able to find replacements. Several occurrences of this kind in the course of a day would cause considerable financial loss, to say nothing of the troubles involved. Another hinderance is that the sparse population of Liang-shan makes it difficult to find even a few porters, and large numbers are out of the question. Furthermore, all the Wa-tzu have to till the land and often are not willing to leave even for pay. (This is particularly true in the busy agricultural summer season). During the hot summer they are also reluctant to descend the mountains. For example, it was with the utmost difficulty that we were able to hire three carriers at Mo-shih chia, and even when the arrangement was made, it almost fell through. It is hard to believe that these conditions can exist anywhere but in Liang-shan.

484 In other regions modesty and affability on the part of the traveler

are the secret formula for assuring oneself a welcome. This does not 484
apply, however, to traveling in the I region. The boastful Heh-I accept as real "Han-chia sepo"(Chinese officials) only those who are able to swagger in the manner expected of officials. Too much courtesy involves the danger of being regarded as one of the Wa-tzŭ class. Having reached a halting station in the afternoon, one should take rest at the home of a Heh-I--preferably the leader of that place. Otherwise one cannot avoid contempt. If by mistake, one spends the night at the home of a Wa-tzŭ, the I would regard him as a Wa-tzu too. Once the news spreads it is impossible from then on to rest even at the home of a Wa-tzu. The I regarded the Chinese porters whom we took along as of the Wa-tzu class, and often allowed them to sleep at the home of a Wa-tzu only.

The fate of a traveler in Liang-shan is like that of a postal package: his safety is dependent upon the I who transmit him from station to station. /135/ Upon arrival at a certain destination we stayed with some Heh-I family from whom we received the night's lodging and two meals. When necessary we asked the host the next morning to hire some Wa-tzu as carriers and to send someone as guide until the next stop where they could be relieved. Since the I of neighboring districts are acquainted with one another, the prestige of the guests can be thus established, and the trip made easier thereafter.

The I are quite snobbish. Although the merchants, when passing 484
through Liang-shan, are willing to pay high prices for protectorship, 574
the reception given them along the way remains indifferent. They are allowed to stay only at the home of the Wa-tzŭ and must pay high prices for food and lodging. The I are, however, more polite to Chinese officials who are elaborately received everywhere. In the morning when the I have to toil in the fields, only a plain meal is offered; but in the evening there is always a so-called feast, consisting chiefly of meat. The meat of some four-legged animals is most valued by them, and the bigger the animal is, the higher its value. Accordingly, the slaughtering of a cow accords the guest the greatest honor, while the killing of a sheep or a pig accords somewhat less honor. In a Chinese family the "offering of chicken" is considered a very honorable reception, but in the I region, to serve chicken is the least polite. Whenever a feast is being prepared, the living animal, be it cow, sheep, pig, or chicken, is always first brought before the guests and slaughtered on the spot to show that there is no fraud. The meat is then consumed 574
in one meal. Naturally a few guests cannot consume an entire pig or

574 cow. The master then assembles the Wa-tzu under his control, and all enjoy the feast together.

437 Currency issued by the Central Government, whether it be paper
439 money or coins, has never been used in the I region of Liang-shan. The Wa-cha chia in the vicinity of Chao-chüeh have recently begun to use "kang yang" (half-dollar silver coins) cast in Yünnan province. This is, however, evidently an exception. Commerce among the I consists mainly in the exchange of goods, but silver is also acceptable (either in bars or in small pieces). Although there are only very few implements in a Heh-I family, it will usually have a "teng-tzu" /scales/ for weighing silver and a ta-ch'eng /big steelyard/ for weighing salt lumps. Salt lumps and cloth are daily necessities, and are therefore preferred even to silver. The merchants often used silver in traveling in Liang-shan, but after the nationalization of silver dollars, our only alternative was to take along salt and cloth, which added greatly to the burden of our luggage. But its volume diminished as we traveled, and was reduced to nothing toward the end of the journey. With eleven people in our travel group, we took along 50 pieces of cloth, six tubes of salt (a total of /136/ 137 chin /Chinese catties/), some needles, woolen thread, woolen yarn, little mirrors, small handkerchiefs, etc. Places such as Hsi-ch'ang, Lei-po, and the cities and markets close to the I region weave a type of close-knitted rough cotton, intended especially for sale to the I. The width of this material is about 9 inches. The I do not measure cloth with linear rulers, but by the "square," obtained by folding one corner of the cloth diagonally across to the other corner. One piece (roll) of cloth contains 26 such squares, and a bundle of ten pieces weighs about 8 chin. There are many rolls of white and dyed cloth on the Hsi-ch'ang market. The I have no use for white materials, and so we buy only dyed cloth, blue (coarse blue) being the most popular color to take to Liang-shan. One of the methods for supplying the markets is to obtain large quantities of white cotton from the country and have them dyed the desired shade at one of the many dyer's shops in the streets of Hsi-ch'ang. A certain number of the more civilized Heh-I, who have enjoyed higher standards of living, no longer care for this type of rough material. They want the finer cloth ordinarily used by the Chinese. Salt lumps come from the white salt wells of Yen-yüan hsien. Since they are decocted in pincers-shaped pots found in that area, they have the form of filter cups. Each tube of salt weighs about 30 chin. Other necessities of the I are needles and thread for which they are always asking Chinese visitors. Even the Chinese

captives made into Wa-tzu have become assimilated in this respect. They are hardly to be blamed, for the scarcity of clothing in Liang-shan makes it necessary to mend tears in the clothes immediately. In addition to these necessary articles, the I like everything used by the Chinese. They have never seen and long for many of the articles which we consider necessities. Naturally the feelings of the women are particularly acute in this respect. It is hence advisable to take along some of these dainty articles in order to create good will. The women like small mirrors best. They are also very pleased to have woolen yarns and silk threads as adornment on their heads, and will jump with joy if given an ordinary woman's handkerchief.

Although currency is not used in trade among the I, there is nevertheless a fixed price for each article, with its value in terms of silver. As a Heh-I host always puts up a front and never asks directly for remuneration for food and lodging, the guest must himself prepare the salt and cloth to present as gifts. After a night's lodging it is best to present these gifts in the early morning before breakfast, so as to relieve the host of all doubts and in this way to receive an even greater consideration. The quantity of gifts depends upon the type of reception. The I always entertain strangers as a group, /137/ no matter how big it is, for example, they will slaughter a sheep for a group of ten people or just for one person. The amount of remuneration has nothing to do with the number of people involved. Buckwheat buns, potatoes, etc., are not of great worth in the I region, and so the remuneration depends mainly on the nature of the animal slaughtered--whether it is a sheep, pig, or chicken. The guest's payment should equal the amount spent by the host for the feast or preferably exceed it by 50 per cent. Otherwise the host will show displeasure in his face if not in actual words. If one is ignorant of the local market price, by watching the words and expressions of the host--whether he is full of thanks, merely thankful, or cold to the point of displeasure--he can judge whether the gifts are too elaborate, just right, or perhaps too meager. Thus he may acquire a criterion for later occasions. For example, if at one place the price of a sheep is eight taels and that of a piece of cloth two taels, then the remuneration for a sheep reception should be six pieces of cloth, or, to please the host even more, an equivalent amount of salt, which is about four or five chin to one piece of cloth. In spite of the low price of salt in Hsi-ch'ang, travelers prefer to give cloth instead of salt because of the enormous transportation costs of the latter. The I region is however in great need of salt. When the remuneration paid in cloth

435 is a little below average, the host is usually too embarrased to ask for more. But not so with regard to salt. Even if a sufficent amount of cloth is given, the host or hostess, and even the tang-chia Wa-tzu,
435 will still attempt to "borrow" some salt from the guest. When too many
263 people ask for it, one can only break up the salt lumps and give every one a pinch. The salt eaten in the I districts west of the Mei-ku River comes from Yen-yüan hsien, so that the people there are more than satisfied with the salt from Hsi-ch'ang. The I east of Mei-ku River are much harder to please for they are used to the snow-white salt produced at Wu-t'ung-ch'iao and imported from Lei-po, and find the salt lumps from Yen-yüan hsien much too black and dirty.

485 For one night's lodging and two meals at a Heh-I family, a re-
435 muneration of four pieces of cloth is sufficient for a group of ten or fewer people; to give six pieces is more than generous. Those who are more familiar with the situation can get by with just one piece of cloth and two chin of salt for one or two people. Those who know the host very well can save even more by negotiating with the host beforehand so that both parties need not spend excessive sums, but make a simple exchange of salt and cloth for food. Half a chin of salt brings in more potatoes than needed. One cannot avoid being somewhat wasteful in one's first trip through Liang-shan. For example, we brought along a considerable amount of salt and cloth in our recent trip, but on mid-way we discovered the danger of having too little on hand. /138/ Everything was exhausted by the time we reached Lei-po, and we still owed the I some salt lumps. To be properly prepared is not an easy matter.

485 Gifts of salt and cloth to the host are a necessity, but in addition
431 there are other social requirements. It is considered impolite not to present gifts such as needles, thread, woolen yarns, etc., to the hostess and her daughters. Anyone left out will come forth to ask for her share. It is also advisable to give one chin of salt to the tang-chia Wa-tzu, and some needles and thread to the ya-t'o (female servants) who serve at meals. Gifts to other Wa-tzu who come to ask are not a necessity; it depends upon the savoir-faire of the guest.

482 The host may be approached in the matter of hiring his Wa-tzu
435 in the transportation of luggage. A price is set by the master for each Wa-tzu, and the guest must pay without bargaining with the latter.
804 The pay given to each Wa-tzu is generally from half a chin to two chin of salt for one station depending upon the distance. Once the carriers have been appointed, the salt is weighed and paid immediately. An

E-5

I family possessing a steelyard of its own, will always distrust that of the guest's. They still use the old-type large steelyard, some of which weigh 18 ounces to a chin (ordinarily 16 ounces). In their circumstances the guest must accept his bad luck and not argue. Once the salt lumps are weighed, the Wa-tzu grasp them as precious stones and dash home to stow away for future feeding of the sheep; only then do they return to carry the things. They will never trust the traveler for payment after service. They are, however, quite honest in that after payment they always accompany the party to its destination, without asking for tips, food and lodging. They are capable of solving their own problems, and are much cleverer than the Chinese in this respect.

Although they usually like to seize the Chinese for Wa-tzu, the Heh-I nevertheless consider it an honor to receive Chinese officials. This is indeed an amusing contradiciton. Mr. Hsü Hsiao-hui narrated that during his trip to Liang-shan, he and his party reached a place inhabited by two Heh-I families of similar status. They chose to stay with the more amicable family and in so doing provoked the indignation of the other. It so happened that the two families were enemies. The second family immediately sent his men to surround the house of the one with whom they were staying, and threatened violence. Mr. Hsü had to come forth personally to mediate, and by agreeing to stay with the second family the next day, effected a truce. But their feelings of enmity were still very strong for they refused to enter the other house despite pressing invitations from Mr. Hsü. They finally cooked outdoors and slept in the open air throughout the night, waiting to accompany these Chinese officials for a reception at their house early next morning.

6: Tseng
567

AE4 Lolo

/For information on the class distinction often referred to as slavery, see Cat. 565, pp. 19-24./